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OF

The Colonial Society of Massachusetts

TRANSACTIONS

1911–1913

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OF

The Colonial Society of Massachusetts, Boston

VOLUME XIV

TRANSACTIONS

1911–1913

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PREFACE

VOLUME XIV, now completed, contains the Transactions of the Society at eleven meetings, from April, 1911, to February, 1913, both included, in continuation of Volume XIII.

The Committee gratefully acknowledges the Society's indebtedness to several institutions, and to friends and members of this Society, for permission to reproduce documents in their possession, for the gift of plates, or for other courtesies, namely: to Mr. Ezra Henry Baker, Mr. Samuel Chester Clough, Mr. James Donovan, Mr. Henry Herbert Edes, Mr. John Whittemore Farwell, Mr. Francis Apthorp Foster, Mr. Frederick Lewis Gay, Mr. George Lyman Kittredge, the family of Mr. Francis Henry Lincoln, Mrs. John Holmes Morison, Mr. Harrison Gray Otis, the family of Mr. William Taggard Piper, Mr. Barrett Wendell, the British Museum, the Harvard College Library, the Library Company of Philadelphia, and the Massachusetts Historical Society.

For the Committee of Publication,

HENRY LEFAVOUR,
Chairman.

BOSTON, 1 May, 1913

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Members who have died since the publication of the preceding volume of Transactions, with the Date of Death

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Francis Henry Lincoln, A.M.	7	July	1911
William Taggard Piper, Ph.D.	25	July	1911
Rev. Edward Henry Hall, D.D.	22	February	1912
Thomas Jefferson Coolidge, Jr., A.B.	13	April	1912
William Watson Goodwin, D.C.L.	15	June	1912
Edmund March Wheelwright, A.B.	14	August	1912
James Willson Brooks, A.M.	19	September	1912
Thornton Marshall Ware, A.B.	28	December	1912
Francis Blake, A.M.	19	January	1913

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Hon. John Taggard Blodgett, A.M.	4	March	1912
William Babcock Weeden, A.M.	28	March	1912
Horace Howard Furness, LL.D.	13	August	1912
Henry Leland Chapman, LL.D.	24	February	1913
John Shaw Billings, D.C.L.	11	March	1913

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TRANSACTIONS

1911–1913

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TRANSACTIONS

OF

THE COLONIAL SOCIETY OF MASSACHUSETTS

APRIL MEETING, 1911

A STATED MEETING of the Society was held at Gore Hall, Cambridge, on Thursday, 27 April, 1911, at eight o'clock in the evening, the Hon. JOHN ADAMS AIKEN, LL.D., in the chair.

The Records of the last Stated Meeting were read and approved.

The CHAIRMAN announced that the President had appointed the following Committees in anticipation of the Annual Meeting:

To nominate candidates for the several offices, — the Rev. HENRY AINSWORTH PARKER, the Rev. Dr. EDWARD CALDWELL MOORE, and the Rev. Dr. WILLIAM WALLACE FENN.

To examine the Treasurer's accounts, — Messrs. EDWARD PERCIVAL MERRITT and MARK ANTONY DE WOLFE HOWE.

The CORRESPONDING SECRETARY reported that a letter had been received from Mr. JOHN TROWBRIDGE accepting Resident Membership.

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Mr. F. APTHORP FOSTER made the following communication:

THE BURNING OF HARVARD HALL, 1764, AND ITS CONSEQUENCES

On Monday the 16th of January, 1764, while the Massachusetts Legislature was in session at Boston, —

Message to the Governor

Col° Clap and Others a Committee of the House of Representatives waited upon his Excellency acquainting him that as the House are apprehensive that the Small Pox will soon prevail in the Town, it being as they are informed by the Selectmen in seven or eight houses; and desiring that his Excellency would please to adjourn them to Cambridge.

The Secretary delivered the following Message from his Excellency the Governor to the two Houses respectively viz[t].

Court adjourned to Cambridge

Gentlemen, His Excellency directs that this Great and General Court be adjourned to Cambridge, to meet at Harvard College on Wednesday next at 10 o'clock in the Forenoon. And declared the Great and General Court to be adjourned accordingly.[1]

Towards midnight of Tuesday, the 24th, Harvard Hall, in which the General Court had been holding its sessions, caught fire and was wholly destroyed together with its contents,[2] which consisted not only of the library and philosophical apparatus but the private property of such students and others as had chambers in the building.

[1] Records of the General Court, xxv. 130–131. Cf. House Journal, pp. 196–197.

[2] Hutchinson in his History of Massachusetts, iii. 105 note, speaks rather disparagingly of the loss:

> The night after the 24th of January, the building called the old college was consumed by fire, which began in the library, the room where the council had sat the evening before. A very large collection of books, but the greatest part of them not very valuable, together with the apparatus for the use of the professor of natural and experimental philosophy, were wholly lost. A much better building was erected at the charge of the province, planned by the governor, who was a very ingenious architect, and a much more valuable library and apparatus were supplied by publick and private donations.

Cf. Publications of this Society, xi. 55; and below, p. 15.

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The fullest description of the disaster is contained in President Holyoke's letter to the press,[1] which forms the basis of the accounts by Quincy,[2] Peirce,[3] and Eliot.[4] There is little if anything to be added to what has been written of the occurrence,[5] but there are,

[1] Massachusetts Gazette, 2 February, 1764, p. 2/1; quoted in Quincy and Peirce. It was reprinted as a broadside, probably for purposes of distribution. President Holyoke, in his Diary, now in the possession of Mr. Andrew Nichols of Hathorne, mentions laconically, "Harvard Hall burnt," under date of 24 January, and "Finished raising roof of Harvard," under date of 29 September, 1764. I am indebted to Mr. Nichols for these two items.

[2] History of Harvard University, ii. 112–116, 479–483; list of donations, ii. 484–496; illustrations of the halls, i. 43, 347, and ii. 122, 483 note.

[3] History of Harvard University, pp. 281–299.

[4] Sketch of the History of Harvard College, p. 75.

[5] An interesting contemporary account of the conflagration appears in a letter dated 30 January, 1764, from which the following excerpts are taken, written by President Holyoke's daughter Margaret to her husband, John Mascarene, then in London. The letter is printed in full in Henry F. Waters's The College Fire in 1764 — A Contemporary Account, in the Harvard Register, iii. 294–297:

And now my Dear I shall begin with your matter of fact writing. First then our Friends are all well, our new College is Finished, and a Beautiful Building. The thirteenth of this month the General Court were invited to dine at College, at which time it was called Hollis Hall, in gratitude to the late and present worthy gentleman of that name — since that time the Small Pox has been in Boston in 20 familys which has drove a third almost of the people out of Boston, and the General Court adjourned to the College, the Council to the Library, and the house to the Hall where they have met for the dispatch of Public Business till last Wednesday, for on Tuesday night about 12 o'clock, in the severest snow storm I ever remember I heard the cry of Fire, one moment brought me to the window, when [I] saw the old Harvard College on fire, and it was with the utmost difficulty they savd the other Buildings. Stoughton was on fire an Hour, Massachusetts catchd in three places, and Hollis Hall is burnt much, at the Southwest corner, there was nothing saved in old College, except a bed or two, the whole [ ] Library, except some Books lent out and Mr. Hollis's last donation, were demolished, [and] the whole apparatus. Mr. Hancock who lodgd out, on account of the storm lost everything except the cloths he had on, this is a most terrible accident, this Library in which were so many valuable Books, ancient manuscripts, the Labour of the Learned, and the work of ages, in a few hours turnd to ashes. Our College is now poorer than any on the Continent — we are all real mourners on this occasion and I doubt not your attachment to alma mater, will make you feel sorrowful upon this conflagration. As to Father he had very near lost his life on the occasion, the snow was in drifts in many places four and five feet high, papa went thro it all with nothing more upon him than he sits in the house, the President's house was in great danger [as] the wind was strong at N west the latter part of the time, and in short if Stoughton had gone all the houses in town to the Eastward of the College would have gone. I think I never saw so great a strife

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however, certain other sources of information which, though not unknown, have hitherto been ignored.

It might be expected that the newspapers of the period would furnish something of value, but a careful search has failed to discover more than a few official notices. To be sure the tragedy did not go unsung, though it requires a stretch of the imagination to call the results poetry. The question of the stamp taxes was occupying the public mind at this time to the exclusion of all else, and it is, no doubt, to this fact that the paucity of other material in the press is due. Even the laying of the corner stone of the new Harvard Hall, 26 June, 1764, is dismissed with a few lines and a copy of the inscription on the stone.[1]

of elements before, it is supposed the Fire began in the Beam under the hearth of the Library, the Gov'r & a great number of the court assisted in extinguishing the Fire, it being vacation and no person in the college, the fire was past stopping in Harvard before it was percievd. I hope the K . . g will give something to repair the loss as he has never done anything for this College yet, and my Dear (tho I would not dictate to you) I believe if you was to try among your acquaintances for some donations by way of Books, or mathematical instruments, it will be very acceptable. Mr. Winthrop thinks that 3 Hd pd sterl'g would buy a compleat apparatus, and there are Books which are of no great ac^{t} in a private gentleman's Library, which are ornamental and useful to an ancient and Public one. Cahill is generous, and loves show. Suppose you was to ask him — if he gives anything worth while, he will have the Public thanks of the College, and his name will be enrolled among the worthy Benefactors to this Seminary, and will live when the Buildings themselves are crumbled into Dust, but I need say no more. I know you will want no stimulus in this affair, our Country men at the Coffee house I doubt not if properly applied to, would subscribe somthing Hansome. Any wealthy lady that is minded to make her Fame immortal cant have a more favorable opportunity, thus my Dear, I have given you as good an account as I can of this terrible afair which would have been nothing hardly if the Library and apparatus had been saved. If I can get a paper wherein the account is ile send it to you — and now partly to soften your grief and alleviate your sorrow, Ile tell you the proceeding of our worthy Court the next Day. the First vote that past was for rebuilding the College at the expence of the province Imediately, and two thousand lawful voted to begin with, and a sum to Mr. Hancock to repair his loss which with what of money Plate &c. they have found in the Ruins, I hope will make his loss light, £10 lawful apiece to those scholars who lost their Furniture, and £40 lawful to the Buttler, all which is thot very handsome. . . . I have begd last Monday's paper of Mr. Flucker, which I shall enclose as this ship goes directly for London. you will find an Inventory as near as they could remember, of the library and apparatus, to the end that those that are minded to give may know what — the College Bell also is gone. the vacation is lengthened out to I don't know what time.

[1] For a copy of the inscription, see Quincy, History of Harvard University, ii. 496.

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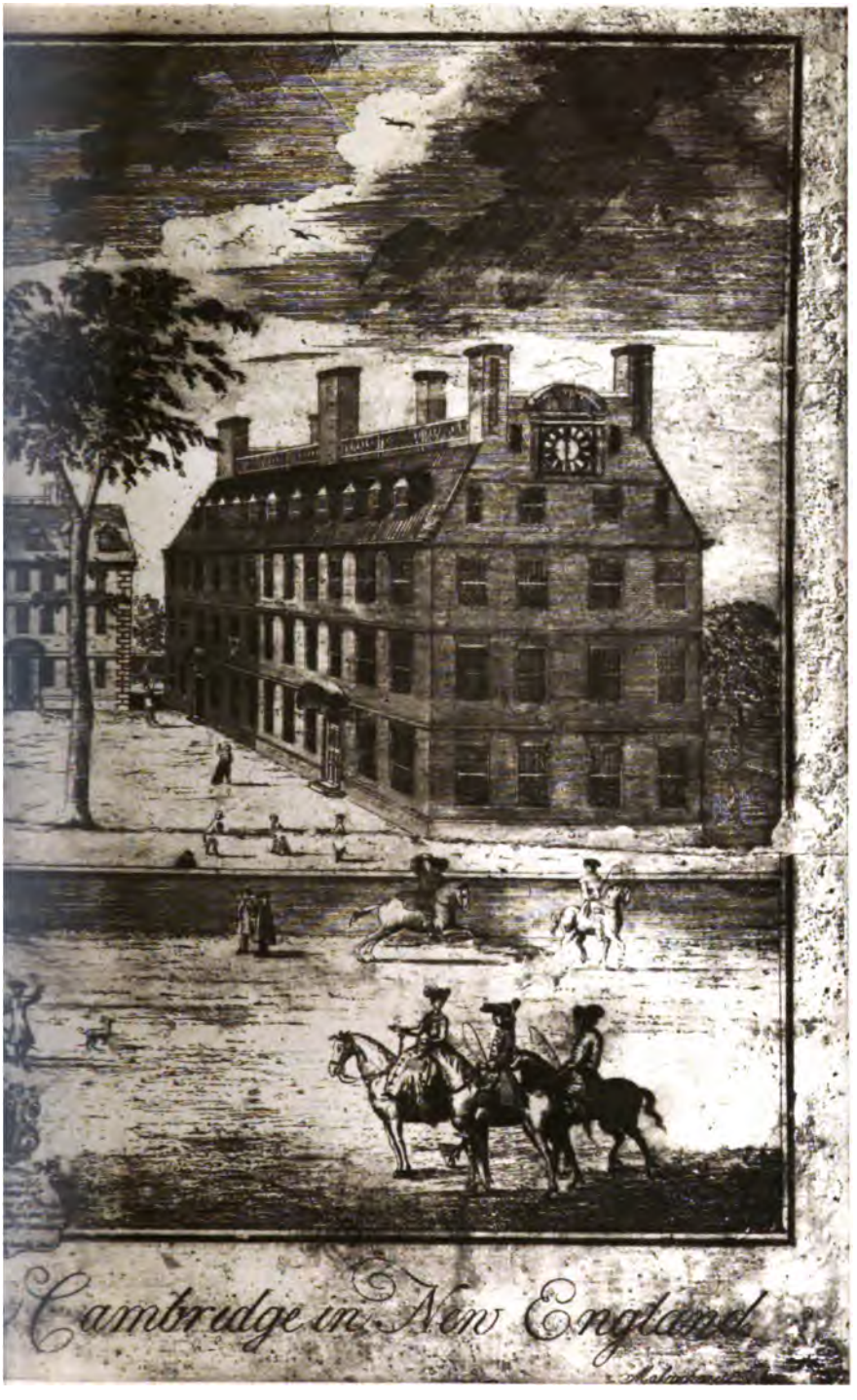

[illegible] Society of Massachusetts
[illegible] by William Burgis 1726
[illegible]ssion of the
[illegible]istorical Society

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In the State Archives, however, there is unpublished material of actual worth, not the least valuable part of which lies in the inventories of losses filed with the Legislature by the students whose quarters had been destroyed. These lists throw an interesting light upon the personal belongings of college men of the time, besides compelling admiration for the feats of memory required in their making.

President Holyoke's letter, already alluded to, was followed by this appeal by way of postscript:

Cambridge, Jan. 26. 1764. As the General Assembly have this day chearfully and unanimously voted to rebuild *Harvard*-Hall, it encourages us to hope, that the LIBRARY and APPARATUS will also be repaired by the private munificence of those who wish well to America, have a regard for New-England, and know the importance of literature to the Church and State.

The appended notices are a direct outcome of the fire, and concern the students, borrowers of books from the College library, and intending donors:

WHEREAS by the righteous Providence of GOD, the most antient of our Buildings is destroyed by Fire, and thereby the Hall and the Kitchen, as well as the Library and Apparatus, have been consumed; and especially whereas the Small Pox is now in several Places at Boston, *and it is apprehended will increase:* THEREFORE the Students of HARVARD COLLEGE, (whose Return to the College should, but for the above Considerations, have been on Wednesday the 8th Instant) are hereby notified, not to return to the College at that Time, nor till they have Notice of a proper Time for it, by the President, in the public News-Papers.

In the mean Time we recommend it to them, that they diligently follow their Studies under the Influence and Direction of the Minister or Ministers of the several Towns to which they belong, or any other Gentlemen of Learning that they may converse with.

EDW. HOLYOKE, President,
In the Name of the President and
Fellows of Harvard-College.

Cambridge, February 1. 1764.[1]

[1] Massachusetts Gazette, 2 February, 1764, p. 3/2. Cf. College Book No. 7, p. 112.

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A VOTE of the Corporation of Harvard-*College, February* 1. 1764.

THAT whosoever have in their keeping any of the Books belonging to the late Library of Harvard-College, do as soon as may be, make Return of them to the President; or at least an Account of every one of said Books, which they have in their Possession.

EDWARD HOLYOKE, President.

NOTICE is hereby given to such of the Students of Harvard-College as have a Desire to improve themselves in the *Hebrew* Language, during their Recess from the College, that they may have one of the new *Hebrew* Grammars [1] by applying or sending to the President.

EDWARD HOLYOKE, President.

Cambridge, Feb. 2, 1764.[2]

WHEREAS the Honorable and Reverend the Board of Overseers of HARVARD-COLLEGE have recommended it to the Corporation to appoint proper Persons to receive the Donations in Money or Books, of any Persons in *America*, who may be dispos'd to contribute to a new Library for the COLLEGE, and that Notice be given in the public News-Papers, that such Persons are ready to receive such Donations; and that if any Person desires their Names may be concealed, and would signify any Mark or Word, by which they would have the Receipt of their Donations ascertained, such desires shou'd be comply'd with.

Therefore in conformity to the above Recommendation, the Corporation make it their earnest Request, That the Reverend Ministers of all Denominations in this and the neighbouring Governments, would undertake to be Receivers of such Donations, as may be made by pious and charitable Persons in their respective Parishes; And that they will be pleas'd to signify to their People (in such manner as their own Prudence shall direct) that they stand ready to receive such Donations: And that they will be further pleas'd in convenient Time, to Inform the President at *Cambridge*, or the Hon. *Thomas Hubbard* of *Boston*, Esq; the Treasurer of said College, what Donations may be deposited with them.

And We humbly hope, that all who wish well to the Interests of Re-

[1] These were Sewall's, printed from a font of Hebrew type presented by Hollis and preserved from destruction by being in Boston at the time. For this information, I am indebted to Mr. William C. Lane.

[2] Massachusetts Gazette, 9 February, 1764, p. 3/1. Cf. College Book No. 7, p. 113.

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ligion and Learning, will compassionate our present destitute State (by which the Students are under much Disadvantage, as to their Learning) and will have their Hearts and Hands opened to contribute liberally to the Reparation of the great Losses, both in the Library and Apparatus, which GOD in his holy Providence hath suffer'd to befall the Society under our Care.

EDWARD HOLYOKE, President.
in the Name of the Corporation.

CAMBRIDGE, *March* 5, 1764.[1]

The first of the following two poems, which was given a place of honor on the front page of the Massachusetts Gazette of 2 February, 1764, is aptly described by the author of the second poem as a "school Boy's *Hexametric* Toil." A third poem appearing in the press, called Harvardinum Restauratum, has already been printed by this Society.[2]

—THRENODIA—

In Conflagrationem
Aulæ Harvardinæ Cantabrigiæ
Nov-Anglorum die 24to Jan^{ij} 1764.

QUIS lacrymas retinere potest, dum fatur Amicus
Harvardi veteris Fatum? Nutricis ut almæ,
Quâ Juvenes dociles literatis artibus omnes
Instructi benè sunt: sed nunc fundamine rasa
Nobilis hæc domus est, flammarum vi furiatâ: —
(Coctilibus Muris vim solùm obstantibus ignis,
Chasmata multa manent illis ut Fulmine fracta.)
Terribilis fuit Eventus per Numinis Iram! —
Quarè Deus nobis voluit contendere tantis
Ærumnis — Morbos varios rapidumque per Ignem,
Non decet ignarum, secretas dicere Causas —
Hoc mihi sufficiat, talis Divina voluntas: —
Hâcce Domo curâ, sumptûque Volumina multa
Musarum, assiduo Juvenum Studio esse repôsta:

[1] Massachusetts Gazette, 8 March, 1764, 3/1. Cf. College Book No. 7, pp. 112–113, 114–115.

[2] Publications, xi. 55–61. It appeared in the Boston Gazette of 7 April, 1764, p. 1.

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(Antiquos, Scilicet,[1] literatos, atque modernos:)
Unusquisque refert, simùl his consumtaque flammis:
Heu! dolor eventû fatali corda Virorum
Afficit immodicus, Fautores qui literarum
Semper erant opibus! Jam, jam radientur at Ipsi
Splendore, ut Sphæris distinctis Sidera Cæli.

PHILOMUSUS.

To the PRINTERS.

You are requested, when you have Room, to give the following Lines a Place in your valuable Gazette.

S P Q R.

The LAMENTATION *of* HARVARD.

ALAS! how am I chang'd! Revolving Suns
Through many a Period joyfully have smil'd,
On my once happy Seat; where uncontroll'd
I sat, the Mistress of this western World,
And sent my learned Youth throughout the Land,
To guide with happy Skill, both Church and State.
Around my sacred, venerable *Elm*
My frequent Buildings rose; whose ample Domes
Inclos'd my fav'rite Sons,[2] an happy Tribe
On either Side th' *Atlantic* far renown'd.
My Fame throughout the LAND OF LIBERTY
Was circulated wide: Nor did I want
Instructors of my own, to lead the Youth,
Their younger Brethren, through the lovely Fields
Of *Science*, humane and divine; whose Paths
Delightsome, Hand in Hand they trod apace
With eager Steps, till at the sacred Shrine
Of fair *Philosophy* arriv'd, they paid
Their humblest Adoration at her Feet,

---

[1] On p. 3/1 occurs this correction: "(In the first Column of this Paper, the 6th Line from the Bottom, the Word Scilicet, should be before Antiquos)."

[2] For the history of the term "favorite son," of which this is an earlier example than has hitherto been known, see Publications of this Society, xiii. 100–109.

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But now, how chang'd the Scene! behold the Walls,
Not long ago the fam'd Repository
Of solid Learning, levell'd to the Dust.
Ye Flames, more merciless than the fell Hand
Of all-devouring Time; more savage far
Than Earthquake's horrid Shocks;[1] why did ye not
Recoil with Shame, when near the sacred Volumes,
Arrang'd with Care, your pointed Spires approach'd?
Why could ye not, the fam'd *Museum* spare,
Unrival'd in *Columbia*, where my Sons
Beheld, unveil'd by WINTHROP'S[2] artful Hand,
The Face of Nature, beautiful and fair?
Ah fatal Night! why didst thou not remain
Perpetual, and with dusky Pinions, veil
These awful Ruins, Beauty laid in Dust?
Where are my Comforters? where the whole Band
Of laurell'd Bards, once nourish'd at my Breast,
Who not long since condol'd BRITANNIA'S Loss
When GEORGE the great resign'd his earthly Crown?
Where is my *Ch—ch*, my *L-w-ll*, *H—p—r*, *D—n*,[3]

[1] The original Stoughton College, taken down in 1780, was injured in the earthquake of 1755.

[2] Professor John Winthrop.

[3] Positive identification of these four names seems unlikely, though it is fair to assume from the context that the author of the poem refers only to contributors to Pietas et Gratulatio. Winsor's Pietas et Gratulatio: an Inquiry into the Authorship of the several Pieces (in Bulletin, Library of Harvard University, i. 305–308) shows "Ch—ch" to be Dr. Benjamin Church, "L-w-ll," the Hon. John Lowell, and "D—n," the Rev. Samuel Deane. There was no contributor to whom "H—p—r" could refer, and I am led to think that the initial letter "H" is a misprint for "C," and that the Rev. Samuel Cooper was intended.

Dr. Benjamin Church, son of Benjamin (Edward, Benjamin, Richard), was born at Boston in 1739; Harv. 1754; A.M. 1773; a student of medicine in London, returning to Boston about 1756 and becoming a successful practitioner; "physician, essayist, and poet, — a man of glib and fervid expression, with numerous showy gifts, but shallow, volatile, false" (Tyler). For a sketch of his career, which ended in imprisonment for treason, followed by a grant of liberty on account of bad health and a departure for the West Indies in a vessel which was never heard from, see Appletons' Cyclopædia of American Biography, i. 612; Kettell, Specimens of American Poetry, i. 145; Tyler, Literary History of the American Revolution, i. 185; and for descent, History of the Church Family, p. 24.

The Hon. John Lowell, son of the Rev. John (Ebenezer, John, John, Percival) and wife Sarah Champney, born at Newburyport 17 June, 1743, Harv. 1760, and subsequently a fellow and the recipient of the degree of LL.D. in 1792, was

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The *Popes* and *Priors* of our western World?
Alas their Harps are on the Willows hung!
Sated with Fame, and all the World's Applause,
Their tuneful Pens lie dumb; not one of all
Can "pay the grateful Tribute of a Song." ||
But should our Land again (which Heav'n forbid)
Be call'd to mourn our happy Sov'reign's *Death*,
Should *golden Prizes*, once more be propos'd;
How would *their* Fancies take poetic Fire;
How would *they* mount the *Pegasæan* Steed,
And soar aloft, to gain immortal Fame?
AVRI SACRA FAMES! — —
What base Ingratitude then, to neglect
Their *Alma Mater* in her mourning Weeds!
Ye sleeping Bards! light up your wonted Fires,
Let not the school Boy's *Hexametric* Toil *
Remain the only lasting Monument
Of my sad Overthrow: But come my Bards
Approach my awful Ruins, stand around
Your once lov'd Nursery, behold my Woe,
Gather my Ashes, and let that Reward
Your *pious* Care to mitigate my Grief,
And to perpetuate in elegiac Verse

---

a noted lawyer, jurist, and statesman. He died at Roxbury 6 May, 1802. (Appletons' Cyclopædia of American Biography, iv. 42; Lowell, Historic Genealogy of the Lowells of America, pp. 34–35.)

The Rev. Samuel Cooper, son of the Rev. William (Thomas) of Boston and wife Judith Sewall, was born at Boston 28 March, 1725; Harv. 1743; M.A. Yale, 1750; S.T.D. Edin. 1767; a noted divine, and pastor of the Church in Brattle Square from 1744 to the date of his death, 29 December, 1783; fellow of the American Academy. (Appletons' Cyclopædia of American Biography, i. 733; Tuckerman, Thomas Cooper of Boston and his Descendants, pp. 5–7.)

The Rev. Samuel Deane, son of Samuel (Samuel, John, John) and his second wife Rachel Dwight, was born at Dedham 30 August, 1733; Harv. 1760; tutor, 1763; settled at Falmouth (now Portland), Maine, 1764; poet and author. "He was a man of good personal appearance, and of grave and dignified deportment, but in hours of relaxation he was fond of indulging in social conversation, which he enlivened with pleasantry and wit" (Willis). He married Eunice Pearson in 1766, and died 12 November, 1814. (Brief Memoirs of John and Walter Deane, pp. 12–13; Willis, History of Portland, ii. 232.)

All places mentioned in these notes are in Massachusetts, unless otherwise specified.

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The sad Remembrance of that fatal Night,
When Science fell a Victim to the Flames.

|| See *Piet. & Gratulat.* N° VII. p. 20.
* See the Massachusetts-Gazette of February 2. 1764, column 1.[1]

We now reach the records of legislative action. For the sake of convenience the material bearing upon the claims for losses has been kept together, though this necessitates a departure from strictly chronological order.

[25 January, 1764]

Committee to provide rooms for the Gen[l] Court

Harvard College in which the Court held their Sessions while at Cambridge having been consumed by Fire, since the Adjournment the last Evening, the Council met at the Governors Lodgings. a Committee of the House there waited on his Excellency to acquaint his Excellency and the Board that they had appointed three of their Members to look out for some convenient House in Cambridge, to met in during the rest of the Session; Whereupon Thomas Hubbard and John Choate Esq[rs], two of the Members of the Board were appointed to look out for some convenient place to accomodate the Governor and Council.[2]

[26 January, 1764]

Order respecting the Files that are burnt

In the House of Representatives. Whereas the Files of the General Court, and the Minutes of Council for the present Session are consumed by Fire. Resolved That there be allowed to be paid out of the Public Treasury all such Grants and Allowances as shall appear upon the Journal of the House of Representatives to have been made by them before the 25th Instant, and which [shall] not appear to have been Nonconcurred by the Board, or refused by the Governor, and for which Warrants have not been already issued. Resolved also that the Records of the General Court for the time aforesaid be made from the said Journal, and laid before the General Court

[1] Massachusetts Gazette, 26 April, 1764, p. 3/3.
[2] Records of the General Court, xxv. 150–151.

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at the next May Session for their Correction or Approbation.

In Council Read and Concurred
Consented to by the Governor [1]

[26 January, 1764]

Message from the Governor

The Secretary went down to the House of Representatives with the following Message from his Excellency the Governor viz[t]:

Gentlemen of the House of Representatives

I heartily condole with you on the unfortunate Accident which has happened to the College, and We have been the melancholly Spectators of.

As your Bounty has just now been largely extended to that Society, I should not so soon ask you to repeat it upon any common occasion: but as this extraordinary Event has come whilst the Building was in your immediate Occupation, there seems to be an Obligation that you should replace it. However, whether it is considered as a Duty, or a fresh call for your benevolence, I shall be glad to join with you and the Council, in proper measures to retrieve this Loss.

Cambridge
January 26: 1764 [2] Fra Bernard

[26 January, 1764]

Vote to rebuild the College

The following Order passed on his Excellency's Message of this day viz[t]

In the House of Representatives. Read and Resolved unanimously that the College be rebuilt at the Charge of the Province.

In Council Read and unanimously Concurred
Consented to by the Governor

[1] Records of the General Court, xxv. 152. Cf. Massachusetts Archives, lxxxviii. 416; House Journal, pp. 227–228; Province Laws, xvii. 469.

[2] Records of the General Court, xxv. 152. Cf. Massachusetts Archives, lviii. 491–492, for the Governor's message in autograph, together with the action thereon; House Journal, pp. 228–229; Province Laws, xvii. 469.

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Committee to effect the same

In the House of Representatives Resolved That Mr Tyler, Mr Otis, Mr Cushing, Mr Boardman and Mr Trowbridge with Such as the honourable Board shall join be a Committee to begin and carry on the work of rebuilding the College; and that the Sum of Two thousand pounds be now granted them out of the Publick Treasury for that purpose.

Resolved That the Committee abovenamed procure a Water Engine for the use of the College, not exceeding One hundred pounds

In Council Read and Concurred

Consented to by the Governor

Samuel Danforth, William Brattle, James Bowdoin, Thomas Hubbard and James Russell Esqrs; were on the part of the Board joined to the Committee abovementioned.[1]

[26 January, 1764]

Vote of Council bro't down

John Choate, Esq; bro't down a Vote of Council, *viz.*

In Council, *Jan.* 26, 1764. *Ordered*, That the Committee appointed to Rebuild *Harvard*-College be directed to take the most proper Measures immediately to remove the Rubbish from that part of the Building where the Hall stood, in order to find the Province Seal which was buried in the Ruins: And that they employ some Persons of Credit to make diligent Search for the same, taking Care to set a trusty Watch on the Place in the mean time.

And all Persons whatsoever, excepting such as shall be employed or permitted by the said Committee, are prohibited entring upon the Ruins, until the said Committee have finished their Search.

Sent down for Concurrence. Read and Concur'd.[2]

[31 January, 1764]

Comtee for rebuilding the College

In the House of Representatives. Ordered That Capt Henly be added to the Committee of both Houses appointed to rebuild Harvard College &c

[1] Records of the General Court, xxv. 153. Cf. Massachusetts Archives, lviii. 492, 501, 501a; House Journal, p. 229; Province Laws, xvii. 470.

[2] House Journal, p. 231.

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proposed Building, & having examined & approved the same, They have ever since been carrying it into execution.

That the building is one hundred and seven feet long — forty feet wide, & forty feet high — att the west end above the celler is the Chapel, and over that is the Library. At the east end is the Kitchen & Buttery. and over them is the Hall & above that are the apparatus-room, & the Mathematical and Hebrew-schools.

The walls of the house are of Brick & stone — and its cover'd with slate. The house is glazed and the outside of it finished — except the Cupola, the doors and steps leading to them. The Kitchen, Buttery, & Hall are nearly finish'd. The rough floors, throughout the house, are all laid — and the Masons and Carpenters are Now at work in finishing the Building. — and the Committee have expended & paid for Materials & Workmanship — three thousand six hundred forty two pounds thirteen shillings and 2^{d}

which is submitted p order
Saml Danforth

[*Endorsed*]
Report of the Comm^{ee}
for rebuilding Harvard
College June 18 Read
1765 [1]

[20 June, 1765]

£1000 allowed the College —

In the House of Representatives, Resolved, That the Sum of One thousand pounds be paid out of the public Treasury to the Committee appointed to rebuild Harvard College to enable them to proceed in that affair, they to be accountable.

In Council, Read and Concurred.
Consented to by the Governor.[2]

---

first fair Wind. — NOTE, *Nettleham is a poor obscure little Village, about as far from the City of Lincoln, as the Baronet's Tom Trott of a Country House at Jamaica-Pond is from Boston. The People of Nettleham subsist chiefly by carrying Garden Stuff to Lincoln: Here it may be presumed the Bart. learnt the little he knows of Gardening; but that he should also set himself up for an Architect and Politician, is altogether unaccountable.*

[1] Massachusetts Archives, lviii. 537–539.

[2] Records of the General Court, xxvi. 52. Cf. Massachusetts Archives, lviii. 547; House Journal, pp. 79, 82.

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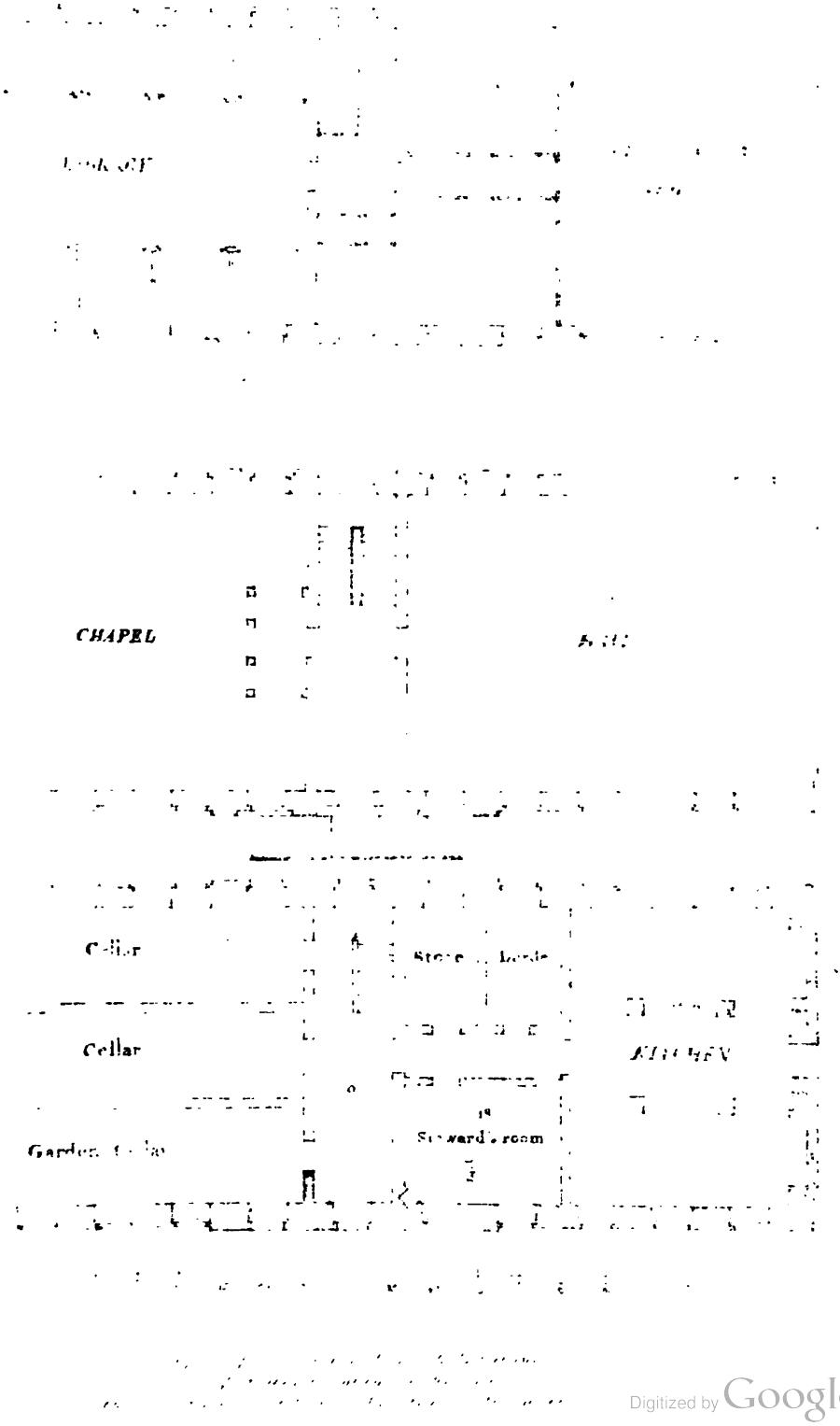
PLAN of HARVARD HALL



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[illegible] & [illegible] approved the same, They [illegible] execution.

[illegible] and seven feet long — forty feet [illegible] above the cellar is the [illegible] Lectern [illegible] is the Kitchen & Buttery. [illegible] the Hall & [illegible] are the apparatus-room, & the [illegible] Brewhouse [illegible].

[illegible] of the house are of Brick & stone — and its [illegible] is [illegible] and the [illegible] of it finished — [illegible] steps leading [illegible] The Kitchen, Buttery, & [illegible] The [illegible] throughout the house, are [illegible] Masons and [illegible] are Now at work in finish[illegible] the Committee have expended [illegible] three thousand [illegible] and forty two pounds [illegible]

which is [illegible]

Saml Danforth

[illegible]

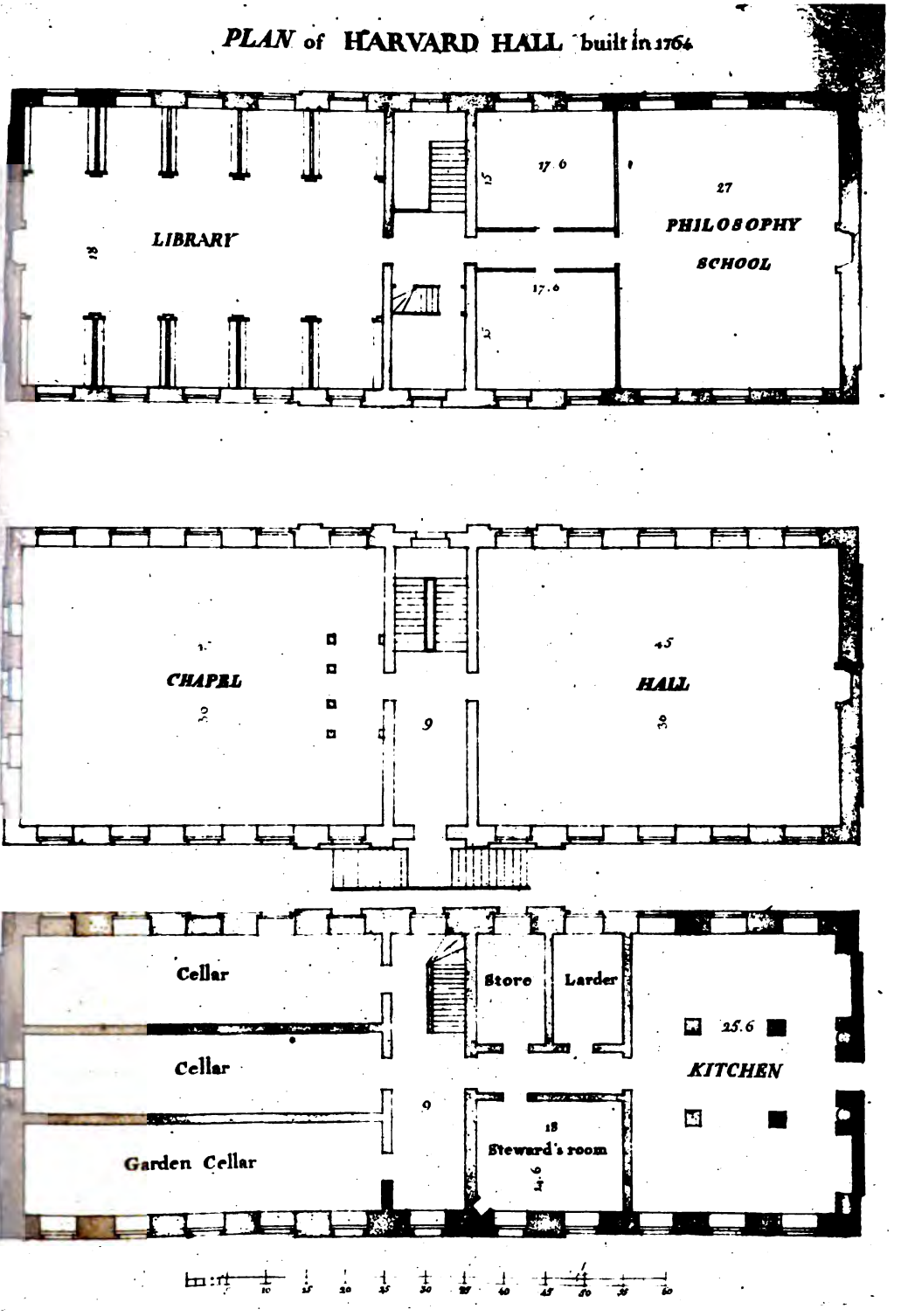
[illegible] Febr. 1765

[illegible]

[illegible] Archives, [illegible]

[illegible] the General Court, xxvi 52. [illegible] Journal, pp. 79, 82.

PLAN of HARVARD HALL built in 1764



Engraved for The Colonial Society of Massachusetts
from the original by Du Simitiere
in the possession of The Library Company of Philadelphia

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1765 — Province of Massachusetts Bay for Building Harvard College

	D^r		
To Messrs Crafts and Tileston acc^o for the Carpenters work &c	2102		10
To Capt Thomas Dawes for the Mason's work and sundrys which he paid by order of the Committee	2439	12	6
To Messrs Codner and Homer for the Stone work	595	12	5
To Messrs Waters & Crafts Painters	158	16	6
To Mr Wm Burbeck Carver	83	5	
To the Honble Samuel Danforth Esqr for sundrys paid by him as p acc^o	399	2	9½
To the Honble Thos Hubbard Esqr as p acc^o	284	3	11
To the Honble Royall Tyler Esqr as p acc^o	100	4	8
	6112	18	7½

	C^r		
Supra			
By Sundry Warrants on the Treasurer am^o to	£5000		
Balance	£1112	18	7½

Errors excepted
S: Danforth
p order [1]

[13 June, 1766]

Grant to Harvard College

In the House of Representatives. Resolved that the Province Treasurer be, and hereby is directed to pay out of the public Treasury to the Committee appointed to rebuild Harvard College the Sum of Eleven hundred and twelve pounds eighteen shillings and seven pence halfpenny to enable them to pay the several balances now due to the Workmen &c which is in full for the charge and cost of rebuilding said College.

In Council, Read and Concurred.

Consented to by the Governor.[2]

This last resolve was the final grant for rebuilding Harvard Hall. What follows covers individual losses.

[26 January, 1764]

Committee to Consider the state of the Sufferers by Fire &c.

Ordered, That Judge *Russell*, General *Winslow*, Mr. *Trowbridge*, Major *Livermore* and Major *Morey*, consider the state of the Sufferers by the late Fire at

[1] Massachusetts Archives, lviii. 540.

[2] Records of the General Court, xxvi. 249. Cf. Massachusetts Archives, lviii. 555a; House Journal, pp. 75, 77, 80–81.

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Harvard-College, that so they may have a suitable Recompence, &c. and make Report.[1]

[3 February, 1764]

Allowance to Mr Belcher Hancock

In the House of Representatives. It appearing to the House that Mr Belcher Hancock[2] by the burning of Harvard College had wearing Apparrell, Household Goods and Books to the value of £88–11–2 consumed in that Fire, and that he had Silver Utensils to the Value of £30–2–8 melted, and Silver money to the value of £69–13–10½ so much diminished and damnified as that but little if any of it, ought to pass as money, and that he also had Securities for money due to him burnt in the same fire. Resolved That the said Silver money and the melted Plate that is or may be found be delivered to the Province Treasurer to be by him disposed of to the use of the Province, and that the said Belcher Hancock be paid out of the Public Treasury the sum of £188–7–8½, and with regard to the Securities burnt, that the consideration thereof be referred to the next Session of the General Court.

In Council Read and Concurred
Consented to by the Governor[3]

[3 February, 1764]

Allowances to sundry Students

In the House of Representatives. It appearing to this House that several Students at Harvard College had Goods and Chattles destroyed and consumed by the burning of that College viz[t]: Timothy Langdon[4]

[1] House Journal, p. 238.

[2] Son of Nathaniel Hancock (Nathaniel, Nathaniel) of Cambridge and his wife Prudence Russell, was born at Cambridge 24 April, 1709; Harv. 1727; tutor, 1742–1767; fellow, 1760–1767; librarian; died unmarried at Cambridge 8 November, 1771 (Paige, History of Cambridge, p. 572).

[3] Records of the General Court, xxv. 190. Cf. Massachusetts Archives, lviii. 496; House Journal, pp. 266–267; Province Laws, xvii. 497.

[4] Son of John Langdon (Edward, John) of Boston and wife Mary Greenough, was born at Boston 7 February, 1746–47; Harv. 1765; "studied law with Jeremiah Gridley. Commencing practice in that part of Pownalboro', Maine, which is now Wiscasset, he was appointed a Crown Lawyer before the Revolution; was a representative to the Provincial Congress in 1776; and in 1778 Admiralty Judge for

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Goods and Chattles to the value of £57–12– Samuel Farrer[1] Goods and Chattles to the value of £15–6–8, Joseph Farrer[2] Goods and Chattles to the value of £13–4–6, Isaac Morrell[3] Goods and Chattles to the value of £14–10–2 and Increase Sumner[4] Goods and Chattles to the value of £16–3–10 burnt and destroyed. Resolved That as all the said Sufferers are Infants, the aforesaid Value of the Goods and Chattles by the said Samuel Farrer and Joseph Farrer respectively lost, be paid out of the Public Treasury to Chambers Russell[5]

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the District of Maine. He was a man of brilliant talent, but of unstable character." He died in 1808. (Alger, Descendants of Philip and John Langdon, in New England Historical and Genealogical Register, xxx. 37.)

[1] He is not mentioned in the Quinquennial Catalogue or the Faculty Records. It has not been possible to identify him, though it seems likely that he and Joseph Farrar were related, as Judge Russell was to receive the money voted for their use. It is possible that Samuel is a clerical error for Timothy, who was graduated in 1767, the same class of which Joseph was a member.

[2] Son of George Farrar (George, Jacob, Jacob) of Concord and wife Mary Barrett, was born at Concord 30 June, 1744; A.M. Harv. 1767; ordained at Dublin, New Hampshire, when the church there was organized, 10 June, 1772; dismissed 7 June, 1776; married at Grafton, 28 July, 1779, Mary, daughter of Joel Brooks; was installed at Dummerston, Vermont, 24 August, 1779; dismissed in 1783; was settled at Eden, Vermont, 15 December, 1812, to 14 December, 1815; removed to Petersham, where he died 5 April, 1816. He "was a man of great eccentricity, amounting occasionally to absolute derangement of mind." (Farrar, Memoir of the Farrar Family, p. 12.)

[3] Possibly son of the Rev. Isaac Morrell (Isaac, Isaac, Abraham) of Wilmington and wife Dorothy ——, was born at Wilmington 13 August, 1748; a physician; came to Natick in 1771; died at Needham about 1840. His name does not appear in the Quinquennial Catalogue. (Bacon, History of Natick, p. 135; Hoyt, Old Families of Salisbury and Amesbury, i. 254, ii. 767.)

[4] Son of Increase Sumner (Edward, George, William) of Roxbury and wife Sarah Sharp, was born at Roxbury 27 November, 1746; Harv. 1767; studied law while teaching at Roxbury; admitted to the bar in 1770; representative, 1776–1780; senator, 1780–1782; elected a member of Congress, 1782, but did not serve; associate justice of the Supreme Judicial Court, 1782–1797; governor, 1797–1799; a fellow of the American Academy. He married, 30 September, 1779, Elizabeth, daughter of William Hyslop; and died at Roxbury 7 June, 1799. (New England Historical and Genealogical Register, viii. 105–128c, 128n.)

[5] Son of the Hon. Daniel Russell (James, Richard) of Charlestown and wife Rebecca Chambers, was born at Charlestown 4 July, 1713; Harv. 1731; married Mary, daughter of Francis Wainwright; settled in that part of Concord which is now Lincoln; was judge of the Court of Common Pleas for Middlesex, 1747; judge of Admiralty the same year; justice of the Superior Court of Judicature, 1752–1766; councillor, 1759; died at Guilford, co. Surrey, England, 24 November, 1766.

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Esqr for their use, and that the aforesaid value of the Goods and Chattles lost by the other Sufferers aforesaid be paid out of the Public Treasury to their respective Fathers or Guardians.

In Council Read and Concurred
Consented to by the Governor [1]

[3 February, 1764]

Allowance to Eb^r Bradish

In the House of Representatives. Ordered That the Sum of Fourteen pounds three shillings and seven pence be granted out of the Publick Treasury to Ebenezer Bradish [2] for House Rent and other Expences since the Sitting of the House of Representatives at his House.

In Council Read and Concurred
Consented to by the Governor [3]

[3 February, 1764]

Allowance to Jon^a Sprague

In the House of Representatives Ordered That the Sum of Nine pounds be granted out of the Public Treasury to Jonathan Sprague [4] for House Rent and other

(Washburn, Judicial History of Massachusetts, pp. 299–300; Shattuck, History of Concord, p. 317.)

[1] Records of the General Court, xxv. 190–191. Cf. Massachusetts Archives, lviii. 500a; House Journal, pp. 233, 267; Province Laws, xvii. 498.

[2] Son of John Bradish (Joseph, Robert) of Cambridge and wife Hepsibah ——, was born there 28 April, 1716, and died 17 October, 1785. He was a glazier by trade, and succeeded his father, who had been glazier to the College for forty years from 1701. On 26 January, 1749, "he bought the Blue Anchor Tavern, in Brighton [now Boylston] Street, where he continued through life. This house, under his direction, became very popular." It was situated "on the westerly side of Brighton Street, about midway between Harvard Square and Mount Auburn Street," and, no doubt, was the place of meeting of the House after the destruction of Harvard Hall. (Paige, History of Cambridge, pp. 225, 497.)

[3] Records of the General Court, xxv. 192. Cf. Massachusetts Archives, l. 190; House Journal, pp. 268, 269; Province Laws, xvii. 501.

[4] Son of Joseph Sprague (Jonathan, John, Ralph) of Cambridge and wife Sarah Stedman, a saddler by trade, like his father, was baptized 18 November, 1716; married at Portsmouth, New Hampshire, 16 November, 1738, Hannah, daughter of Thomas Phipps; died 6 July, 1764, aged 48 years (gravestone, Cambridge). (Wyman, Genealogies and Estates of Charlestown, pp. 887–890; Sprague,

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Expences since the Sitting of the hon^ble^ Board at his House

In Council Read and Concurred — Consented to by the Governor [1]

[3 February, 1764]

Allowance to Wm Baker

In the House of Representatives; Ordered That the Sum of Four pounds, eighteen shillings be granted out of the Public Treasury to M^r^: William Baker, Doorkeeper, in consideration of his Goods & Chattles lost in the late Fire.

In Council Read and Concurred
Consented to by the Governor [2]

A Mem^o^ of Sundries wch I the Subscriber Lost in the late Fire at Harvard Colledge

viz	1 New Beaver Hatt	£1	16
	1 d^o^ Wigg	2	8
	1 p^r^ black shoe Buckles & cap . . .	0	4
	Sundry other Articles	0	10
		£4	18

p Wm Baker [3]

[3 February, 1764]

Allowance to Mr Andrew Eliot

In the House of Representatives (Jan^ry^ 28) The House entered into the consideration of the State of the Sufferers by the late Fire at Harvard College, and particularly considering the Sufferings of Mr Andrew Eliot [4] the Butler: The following Resolve passed vizt:

The Brothers Ralph and William Sprague and some of their Descendants, p. 9; Harris, Epitaphs from the Old Burying Ground, Cambridge, p. 115.)

[1] Records of the General Court, xxv. 192. Cf. House Journal, p. 269; Province Laws, xvii. 501.

[2] Records of the General Court, xxv. 193. Cf. Massachusetts Archives, lviii. 486a; House Journal, p. 270; Province Laws, xvii. 501.

[3] Massachusetts Archives, lviii. 486.

[4] Son of the Rev. Andrew Eliot (Andrew, Andrew, Andrew) of Boston and wife Elizabeth Langdon, was born at Boston 11 January, 1743; Harv. 1762, M.A. Yale, 1774; was butler of Harvard College shortly after his graduation, librarian, tutor (1768), and fellow (1773); was ordained 22 June, 1774, at Fairfield, Connecticut, where he remained until his death, 26 October, 1805; corre-

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Resolved That the sum of Forty three pounds sixteen shillings and three pence be now allowed him out of the Public Treasury in consideration of the Loss of his Goods and Chattles. Also Resolved that the Loss which the said Eliot has sustained by his Account Book's being burnt, be referred for further consideration.

In Council (Jan^{ry} 30) Read and Concurred
Consented to by the Governor [1]

To his Excellency Francis Bernard Esqr Governor & Commander in chief over his Majesty's Province of the Massachusetts Bay

The Honorable His Majesty's Council, and The Honorable House of Representatives

The Petition of Andrew Eliot Bachelor of Arts
Humbly sheweth

That your Petitioner was Butler of the College when Harvard Hall was consumed by Fire, At which Time he lost Goods & Chattells to the Amount of 43$^{£}$ 16^{s} 3^{d} Which Sum the Honorable Court were pleased in their great Goodness to allow him out of the public Treasury — of which Kindness your Petitioner hopes he shall ever retain a grateful Remembrance.

Your Petitioner when he gave in his other Account to the Committee of the late Honorable House, laid before them the Loss he was like to sustain by the Burning of his Accompt Book containing the Debts which the Scholars had contracted the last four Weeks they were together. The Quarter before amounted to one hundred & twenty five Pounds two Shillings & a penny. Your Petitioner has computed this Month at thirty three Pounds six shillings & eight Pence, which Computation is considerably short of what was contracted in any four Weeks of the former Quarter. Your Petitioner being willing rather to suffer Loss than desirous to be a Gainer by a Public Calamity.

This Part of your Petitioner's Loss the Honorable House was pleased to refer to further Consideration in Order as your Petitioner was informed that he might know what he could obtain from those who were indebted to him — Your Petitioner has been able to collect only the sum of six

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sponding member of the Massachusetts Historical Society. He married Mary Pynchon. (Eliot, Eliot Family, pp. 41–42; 1 Massachusetts Historical Collections, x. 188–189.)

[1] Records of the General Court, xxv. 193. Cf. Massachusetts Archives, lviii. 495a; House Journal, p. 270; Province Laws, xvii. 501.

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Pounds ten shillings & six Pence halfpenny. Several Gentlemen have allowed him in Proportion to the former Quarter but the most were inclin'd to allow him little or Nothing — Your Petitioner begs leave to suggest that what is not paid of this Debt is as real a Loss to him, as is that of the Goods that were in his Possession & that unless this Honorable Court grant him Relief he is like to be the only Sufferer of those who resided in the College at the Time when it was consumed.

Your Petitioner begs Leave further to observe that he gave in his Account of his Loss within two Days after the Burning of Harvard College in which Account he believes the Honorable Court were fully satisfied his Goods & Chattells were valued at a very moderate Price. For want of further Time for Recollection he omitted several Articles to the Amount of £4 .. 18 .. 1 — As he thinks he can make evident to the Honorable Court —

He therefore prays this Honorable Court to take his Case into their Consideration and grant such Relief as they in their great Wisdom shall see meet —

And your Petitioner as in Duty bound shall ever pray &c.

Andrew Eliot.[1]

[14 January, 1765]

Petition of And^{r} Eliot

A Petition of Andrew Eliot A B. Butler of Harvard College Setting forth That the General Court have been pleased to allow him, upon his Petition, the Sum of £43.16.3 for the Loss he sustained by the burning of the said College; and were pleased to refer the consideration of the Loss he might sustain by the burning of his Books of Accounts, until he could more fully ascertain the same. That after receiving what he could of the several Scholars, he finds that according to the best computation he can make he is like to lose the Sum of £26.16.2 — besides the further Sum of £4.18.1 the Amount of sundry Goods omitted in his last Memorial. And praying allowance.

Order thereon

In the House of Representatives. Read and Ordered That the prayer of this Petition be granted: and the Province Treasurer is hereby directed to pay the Petitioner the Sum of Thirty one pounds fourteen shillings and two pence half peny infull consideration for the Loss

[1] Massachusetts Archives, lviii. 529–530.

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sustained by him when Harvard College was consumed by Fire.

In Council Read and Concurred
Consented to by the Governor.[1]

[4 February, 1764]

Allowance to Jon^a Hastings

In the House of Representatives. It appearing to this House, That Jonathan Hastings[2] Esqr lost Goods and Chattles to the value of Thirteen pounds one shilling and six pence in the burning of Harvard College Resolved That the said Sum be paid him out of the Public Treasury.

In Council Read and Concurred
Consented to by the Governor[3]

[4 February, 1764]

Allowance to Gid^n White

In the House of Representatives Ordered That the sum of Eight pounds be granted out of the Public Treasury to Captain Gideon White[4] in consideration of the Loss he sustained by exerting himself in an extraordinary manner for the preservation of Hollis Hall and Stoughton Hall in the late Fire.

In Council Read and Concurred
Consented to by the Governor[5]

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[1] Records of the General Court, xxv. 322. Cf. Massachusetts Archives, lviii. 531, giving the action of the House on January 12; House Journal, pp. 143, 150.

[2] Son of Jonathan Hastings (Walter, John) of Cambridge and wife Sarah Phips, was born at Cambridge 1 January, 1708–09; Harv. 1730; justice of the peace; steward of Harvard College, 1750–1779; married, 30 October, 1750, Elizabeth, daughter of Rev. John Cotton of Newton; died at Cambridge 16 February, 1783. (Paige, History of Cambridge, p. 576; Publications of this Society, x. 55 note 2.)

[3] Records of the General Court, xxv. 194. Cf. Massachusetts Archives, lviii. 500. Cf. House Journal, pp. 270–271; Province Laws, xvii. 502.

[4] Son of Cornelius White (Daniel, Peregrine, William) of Marshfield and wife Hannah Randall, was born at Marshfield 19 July, 1717; married, 1744, Joanna, daughter of Thomas Howland; suspected of being inimical to the United States, 11 February, 1778; died at Plymouth 6 March, 1779. ([White,] Ancestral Chronological Record of the William White Family, p. 125; Davis, Ancient Landmarks of Plymouth, pp. 176, 283.)

[5] Records of the General Court, xxv. 194–195. Cf. Massachusetts Archives, lviii. 497; House Journal, p. 272; Province Laws, xvii. 502.

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[22 May, 1768]

To his excelency Francis Barnard Esq[r] Captain General and Govenor in chief in and over his Majestys provence of The Massachusetts bay. And to the Hon[ble] his Majestys Council and House of Representatives now in General Coart at Boston assembled, —

The petition of Gideon White of Plymouth humbly shews That at the Great fire at Cambridge in January 1765 [*sic*] Your petitioner exposed and exerted him self to such a degrie for the extinguishing thereof, and praservation of the Colleges that he thereby brought on himself a fit of Sickness which Confined him almost intirely to his house and the greater part of the time to his room, for two years and an halfe afterwards by which he was prevented from transacting, his Affairs and business, which has Greatly hurt and injured him in his Trade and intrest: has been put to great cost an charges for Doctors, Physicians and Nurses: and by reason of exposing himself, and the mannor he did, that night to fire and Cold, has intirely broke and ruined his constitution wherefore your petitioner humbly prays this hon[ble] Court would take his deplorable case into their wis consideration and make him such amends and satisfaction for the same, as they in their great judgment shall think proper and he as in duty bound shall ever pray —

Gideon White

Plimouth May 22[the] 1768.

[*Endorsed*]
Pet[n] Gideon White
May 27 1768[1]

[4 February, 1764]

Allowance to Nath[l] Bond

In the House of Representatives. Ordered That the Sum of Eleven pounds fifteen shillings and ten pence be granted out of the Public Treasury to M[r] Daniel Whitney for the use of Nathaniel Bond[2] in consideration of the Loss he sustained by the late Fire.

In Council Read and Concurred
Consented to by the Governor[3]

[1] Massachusetts Archives, lviii. 577.

[2] Son of Amos Bond (Thomas, Thomas, William) of Watertown, and wife Hannah Bright, was born at Watertown 21 February, 1746–47; Harv. 1766; a physician; died in the army 7 March, 1777. (Bond, Watertown, second edition, p. 62.)

[3] Records of the General Court, xxv. 195. Cf. Massachusetts Archives, lviii. 498–499; House Journal, p. 273; Province Laws, xvii. 502.

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An Account of Furniture and Books Lost in the Late fire by Nathaniel Bond Student of College

	£	S	D
Three Locks	00	06	00
A Bed and Bedding	05	04	00
A chest	00	10	08
A Salver	00	02	00
A Toaster and Skillet	00	04	00
A Book Shelves and Lap [*sic*]	00	02	00
Sundries	00	01	08
Guthree on Tully	01	01	06
Trap on Virgil	00	12	00
Virgil	00	09	00
Tully	00	10	00
Cæsars Commentaries	00	12	00
Lock on humane understanding	00	13	04
euclid	00	06	00
greek and Latin gramars	00	04	00
bratles Logicks	00	01	06
A bible	00	03	06
Botles	00	10	08
A rasor	00	02	08
Total	11	15	10

[*Endorsed*]
Nathaniel Bonds
Account of his
Loss
Allow[d] to Nath[ll] Bond
Feb[y] 4th 1764[1]

Province of the Mass[ts] Bay in New-England } To His Excellency Francis Bernard Esq[r] Captain Generall & Governour in Chief in & over the Province aforesaid

To the Honourable the Council & House of Representatives in Generall Court assembled at Boston the Eighteenth day of October A D 1764. H[umb]ly Shew

Stephen Hall.[2] Joseph Lee.[3] Joseph Willard.[4] Nicholas Pike.[5] Samuel Curtis.[6] Samuel Bar-

[1] Massachusetts Archives, lviii. 498–499. The reverse of the account (p. 499) has, besides the endorsement, the action of House and Council, and the consent of the Governor entered upon it.

[2] Son of the Rev. Willard Hall (Stephen, Stephen, widow Mary) of Medford and wife Abigail Cotton, was born at Medford 28 May, 1743; of Westford upon

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nard[7] — John Barrows.[8] Samuel Cheney.[9] Silvanus Ames.[10] Nicholas Dudley.[11] Moses Holt.[12]

That your Petitioners at the burning of Harvard-College in Cambridge New-England, having Chambers in the sam[e] Building, suffered the

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entering college; Harv. 1765; tutor, 1771–1778; fellow; educated for the ministry, but never settled; married, 1777 or 1778, Mary, widow of Moses Holt (see p. 28 note 12, below); removed to Portland, Maine, 1778; died 1795. (Hall, The Halls of New England, p. 520.)

[8] Son of Dr. Joseph Lee (Joseph, Joseph, John) of Concord and wife Lucy Jones, was born at Concord 12 May, 1742; Harv. 1765; B.A. (Hon.) Yale, 1765; ordained 19 October, 1768, at Royalston, where he remained until his death, 16 February, 1819. He was married three times. (Lee, John Leigh of Agawam . . . and his Descendants, pp. 190–196.)

[9] There were two Joseph Willards in the Class of 1765. A comparison of this signature and that attached to his inventory with the autographs of President Joseph Willard helps to identify the sufferer as Joseph, son of Benjamin Willard (Joseph, Benjamin, Simon) of Grafton and wife Sarah Brooks, born 7 January, 1741–42; Harv. 1765, B.A. Yale, 1765; successively minister at Mendon and Boxborough; died at Boxborough, September, 1828. (Willard, Willard Memoir, p. 433.)

[10] Son of the Rev. James Pike (Joseph, Joseph, John, John) of Somersworth, New Hampshire, and wife Sarah Gilman, born at Somersworth 17 October, 1742–43; Harv. 1766; married at Newbury, 9 January 1779, Eunice, daughter of Sergeant Smith; published in 1788 the first edition of A New and Complete System of Arithmetick, "which was long the standard manual in New England schools;" for many years principal of the grammar school at Newburyport; town clerk; fellow of the American Academy; died at Newburyport 9 December, 1819. (Tate's Diary, p. 92; Gilman, Gilman Family, pp. 58, 65; Hoyt, Old Families of Salisbury and Amesbury, ii. 800; Allibone, Dictionary of Authors, ii. 1595/2; Littlefield, Early Schools and School-Books of New England, pp. 179–183.)

[11] Son of the Rev. Philip Curtis (Samuel, Isaac, William) of Sharon and wife Eliza Bass, was born at Sharon 1 September, 1747; Harv. 1766; a physician at Marlborough, and surgeon on a privateer in the Revolution, 1777; married twice; died at Amherst, New Hampshire, 1 April, 1822. (Clarke, Records of some of the Descendants of William Curtis, p. 13.)

[12] Son of Joseph Barnard (Ebenezer, Joseph, Francis) of Deerfield and wife Thankful Sheldon, was born at Deerfield 24 November, 1746; Harv. 1766; lawyer; delegate to the first Provincial Congress at Concord, 1774; practised law in Hampshire County until his removal to Montgomery, Vermont, in 1795; married at Brookfield, 3 October, 1770, Abigail (daughter of Dr. Jabez Upham of Brookfield), who survived him, he dying 2 April, 1819. (Sheldon, History of Deerfield, ii. pt. ii. pp. 70–71.)

[8] Son of John Barrows (Benajah, John) of Attleborough and wife Priscilla Philbrook, was born at Attleborough 24 August, 1736; Harv. 1766; for many years a schoolmaster; lived at Dighton; died at Wellington, Bristol County,

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Loss of all their Goods & Chattels then & there being, Accounts of which they have already drawn up & Sworn to — And as many of your Petitioners stand in great need of some Assistance in order to enable them to purchase necessary Furniture for their Chambers, & Books for the better & further prosecuting of their Studies at said College — And as they understand that many of the private Losses have already been made up to the Sufferers, agreable to a Vote of the Great & Generall Assembly that was at that Time sitting, your Petitioners are very desirous that their Case might be taken into Consideration, & that a Committee may be appointed to Examine their severall Accounts, (or that any other Means that you in your great Wisdom may think proper, may be taken) & if they be just & honest the same may be speedily allowed

And your Petitioners as in Duty bound shall ever Pray &c

[*Endorsed*]
Pe^tn of Stephen Hall & others
Octr 24 1764 [1]
Novr 3

Rhode Island, 24 July, 1816. (Barrus, History of Goshen, p. 140; Attleborough Records; Julius H. Tuttle and Henry E. Woods.)

[9] Son of Lieut. Ebenezer Cheney (Thomas, Thomas, William) of Roxbury and wife Elizabeth Palmer, was born at Roxbury 25 December, 1746; Harv. 1767; studied medicine and practised at Walpole; served in the Revolution; master of the Boston South Writing School, 1785; married twice; died at Cambridgeport 13 November, 1820. (Pope, Cheney Genealogy, pp. 77–78. See Publications of this Society, vi. 119.)

[10] Son of Thomas Ames (Thomas, Thomas, John, William, Oliver) of West Bridgewater and wife Keziah Hayward, was born at West Bridgewater 20 January, 1743–44; "tho' absent Sylvanus Ames allow'd his Bachel^rs Degree, being sick," 15 July, 1767, "being Comencem^t Day;" Harv. 1767; died 1778. (Davis, Ancient Landmarks of Plymouth, p. 6; College Book No. 7, p. 112; Bridgewater records.)

[11] Son of Trueworthy Dudley (Nicholas, Stephen, Samuel, Thomas) of Brentwood, New Hampshire, and wife —— Gordon, was born at Epping, New Hampshire, 11 July, 1745; Harv. 1767; ordained at Townshend, Vermont, 28 June, 1777; removed to Ashford, Connecticut, where he married, 12 November, 1778, Priscilla Whiton. (Dudley, History of the Dudley Family, i. 447; Julius H. Tuttle.)

[12] Son of Jonathan Holt (Oliver, Henry, Nicholas) of Andover and wife Lydia Blanchard, was born at Andover 19 January, 1744; Harv. 1767; married, 1771, Mary, daughter of Deacon William Cotton of Portland, Maine, who married secondly Stephen Hall (see p. 27 note 2, above); a lay preacher; also had charge of the Grammar School at Portland; died 9 January, 1772. (Durrie, Genealogical History of the Holt Family, p. 31.)

[1] Massachusetts Archives, lviii. 504.

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[3 November, 1764]

Grant to divers Sufferers by the Fire at H: College

Upon the Petitions of Stephen Hall & others the following Resolve passed vizt;

In the House of Representatives; Resolved That there be allowed and paid out of the Public Treasury to the Petitioners, who were Sufferers at the late fire at Harvard College, as follows vizt,

To Stephen Hall	£13		To Joseph Lee	£10	
To Joseph Willard	20	10	To Nich^{o} Pike	26	10
To Saml Curtis	14	15	To Eb^{r} [2] & Saml Barnard	72	10
To John Barrows	8	16	To Saml Cheney	15	
To Sylvanus Ames	7	5	To Nicholas Dudley	11	
To Moses Holt	14	10	To Silas Biglow [3]	15	4
To Ensign Man [1]	38	4			

In Council Read and Concurred
Consented to by the Governor [4]

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[1] Son of Ensign Man (Thomas, Richard) of Boston and wife Tabitha (——) Vinal, was born at Scituate 15 July, 1740; Harv. 1764; a teacher at Lancaster, 1764, and at Petersham, 1767; married, 19 August, 1773, Alice, daughter of the Rev. Aaron Whitney of Petersham; died at Petersham 21 December, 1829. (Mann, Mann Memorial, pp. 80–83.)

[2] Brother of Samuel Barnard (see p. 27 note 7, above), was born at Deerfield 30 April, 1745; Harv. 1766; studied medicine with his uncle Lemuel Barnard at Sheffield; practised at Deerfield; married, about 1772, Sally, daughter of David Ingersoll of Great Barrington, who survived him; died at Deerfield 14 April, 1790. (Sheldon, History of Deerfield, ii. 68; McLean, Ingersoll, p. 6.)

[3] Son of Samuel Biglow (Samuel, Samuel, John) of Shrewsbury and wife Jedidah Hathorn, was born at Shrewsbury 10 October, 1739; Harv. 1765; ordained at Paxton 21 October, 1767; married Mrs. Sarah Hall of Sutton; died at Paxton 16 November, 1769. (Howe, Genealogy of the Bigelow Family of America, p. 105.)

[4] Records of the General Court, xxv. 314. Cf. Massachusetts Archives, lviii. 522; House Journal, pp. 110, 133–134.

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An Accompt of ye Things burnt in Harvard College belonging to Stephen Hall

Under Bed	£	0	12	0	0		
Bedsted & Cord		0	11	0			
jacket		0	10	0			
Beaver hat		0	12	0			
10 lb of Sugar at 11D 1S p lb		0	9	4	2		
A stone Mug		0	1	8			
19 Pictures at 9D p Picture		0	14	3			
Wig		0	12	0			
1 Pair of hose		0	5	4			
Towel		0	1	2			
2 Boxes		0	2	0			
3 pewter Plates		0	4	0			
2 Tea Pots		0	2	8			
1 lb of Candles		0	1	0			
Candle-Stick		0	1	8			
Bottom of a Desk with a Draw		0	3	0			
Book-Shelves		0	4	8			
3 Knifes & Forks		0	3	0			
2 Locks		0	8	8			
Rasor & Case		0	3	0			
Book-holder		0	0	8			
Tea Kanister with ¼ lb of Tea		0	2	5	2		
Grid-Iron		0	4	8			
2 Chains		0	2	11			
A Beaker & 2 Wine Glasses		0	1	9			
A Rundlet		0	2	5			
1½ Load of Wood		0	11	1			
A Slate		0	1	6			
2½ Dos of Bottles		0	10	8			
A Chafindish		0	2	0			
	£	8	2	7	0		

Trap's Translation of Virgil	£	0	18	0	0		
1st Vol. of Locke on human Underst^n^		0	7	2	2		
Polyanthea		1	4	0			
1st Vol. of Pope's Homer		0	6	8			
2^d^ Vol. of Tatler		0	6	0			
Hebr. Grammar		0	2	4			
Aristocles Sys^t^ of Morality		0	1	8			
13 Maps		1	2	8			
6 Plays Phamphlets		0	6	0			
Ink Pot		0	1	8			
Sundries		0	18	0			
	£	5	14	2	2		
		8	2	7			
	£13	16	9	2			

Stephen Hall.

[*Endorsed*]
Stephen Hall's Acct. Allow'd 13 —
Ex.[1]

[1] Massachusetts Archives, lviii. 518.

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	£	S	D
2 Combs	0	2	2
Bottle of Oyl.	0	0	10
Cake of Chocolate	0	0	10
2 Necks[1]	0	1	2
Riding Cap.	0	0	8
2 Papers of Tobacco	0	1	2
2 Snuff-Boxes	0	3	0
Grater, Case & Nutmeg	0	0	8
a Bowl.	0	0	4
Whet-Stone	0	0	4
a File	0	1	2
an Hammer	0	1	0
Pair of Garters	0	0	8
2 Codlines	0	2	0
a Paper of Ink Powder	0	0	6
1 q^{t} of Rum	0	1	6
	£0	18	0[2]

An Account of what was lost by Joseph Lee, Student at the College, in the Burning of Harvard-Hall; January 1764 —

	£	S	D
Ten Chairs	1	8	0
An Oval Table a £1. A common Table a 6/	1	6	0
Tea Furniture	0	17	1½
2 Candlesticks a 8d each. & Snuffers a 1/	0	2	4
Andirons a 9/4. Shovel & Tongs a 8/	0	17	4
1 Pair Bellows a 3/. Tinder Box & Steel a 1/4	0	4	4
2 Locks a 4/ each. 1 Lock a 2/8	0	10	8
Tea Kettle	1	0	9
1 poringer a 1/4. 2 spoons at 4d each	0	2	0
2 pewter Plates a 1/6 each. Knives & forks 10d	0	3	10
1 Brush a 1/6. 2 Bowls a. 1/7 each	0	4	8
3 wine Glasses a 6½d each. 1 Beker a 8d	0	2	3½

[1] "That part of a garment which covers, or lies next, the neck" (Oxford English Dictionary).

[2] Massachusetts Archives, lviii. 508. Though this schedule precedes Stephen Hall's account of losses by ten pages, it evidently refers to his "Sundries . .0 18 0"

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9 glass Bottles a 4d each	0	3	0
A Sett of Large Maps a 14/5. other Cutts a 3/7	0	18	0
A writing Desk	0	1¼	8
A pair of Dividers	0	2	0
Barnard's Sermons on ye Imperfection of ye Creature &c	0	6	8
Cooper's D^o^ on Titus. 2.6	0	0	8½
2^d^ Volume of Locke on Hum: Understanding	0	8	8½
Watts' Logic & Improvement of the Mind 2. Volumes	0	16	8
New-England's Lamentations	0	0	9½
Owen on ye Divine Original of the Scriptures	0	2	4½
The Sin & Folly of unlawful Pleasures, A Sermon	0	0	2½
Philosophic Solitude; a poem. 1/2¼. 1½ quire of Paper 2/	0	3	2¼
Boyer's French Grammer	0	2	6
Sundries	0	12	0
Per Joseph Lee Total	£11	10	9½

October 24th 1764
Joseph Lee Made Oath to ye Truth of ye Above Acc^t^
Coram Edm Trowbridge

[*Endorsed*]
Allow'd £10 — Joseph Lee
Ex-[1]

	£	S	D
Crisping Irons	0	2	8
2 pencil Cases	0	2	0
hatchet	0	2	0
hammer	0	0	8
Tea-Kettle-holders	0	1	0
Almanack	0	0	4
Pipes & Tobacco	0	0	8
Spirits	0	1	4
Cork Screw.	0	0	4
Sundries	0	1	0
	0	12	0

file, Box, Sugar } 1s[2]

[1] Massachusetts Archives, lviii. 517.

[2] Massachusetts Archives, lviii. 508a. This evidently gives in detail the "Sundries . . . 0 12 0" of the preceding account, though separated from it.

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Joseph Willards account of Things supposed to be burnt in Harvard College.

	S	D
Baileys Dictionary	12	0
Coles Ditto.	12	
Hill's Lexicon	12	
Virgil	6	
Lock on the human Understanding	15	
Watt's Logick	8	
Edwards on the Affections	5	4
Hebrew Psalter	6	
Hebrew Grammar	2	5
Wolebius	4	4
Mason on self Knowledge	3	7
The Mariners Compass	2	8
Clark's Introduction	3	9
Two Exercises for making latin	3	
Erskins Gospel Sonnits	3	
Clarks Erasmus & a Bible	5	4
Greek Testament	4	5
latin Ditto.	2	8
Greek Grammar	1	4
latin Ditto	2	5
two Psalm Books	3	6
Confutation of the Arians	2	
An Essay on Prayer	6	
three Coppy Books & an ordination Sermon	3	8
M[r] Flavils Method of Grace	12	
1 Vol. of the Rambler	6	
1 Vol. of Spectator	6	
A Lexicon	6	
Horace in 2 Volumns	18	
	£8	18 4

	£	S	D
A feather Bed Under Bed, Blanket and Coverled	5	4	
Six Chairs		16	
Two Tables		12	
A pair of handirons		8	
A tea Kettle		18	
A Chest and Trunck		11	
A Book Case		4	
Thirty Glass Bottles.		10	8
Three Maps & 10 picturs		12	
A pair of Bellows		4	4
5 Locks		10	
A Drinking jack & mugg		4	
A Set of Tea Dishes		2	6
A Tea Pot and Plaits		3	
Three punch Bowls		4	
Two wine Glasses		2	
A Banyand[1]	1		
Cloth for a jacoat		15	4
Two pair or Wosted Stockings		6	8
A Handkerchief		2	
A pair of Boots & Shoes		8	
A Hat		6	
Tea Shelves & Cubboard		4	
A Small Looking Glass		1	4
Some Tea & Sugar		2	
Sundry Small Articles	1		
A Quire of Writing paper		1	4
	£15	12	4
	8	18	4
Sum Total	£24	10	8
C[r] to M[r] Flavils method of Grace charged in Mans account	0	12	0
	£23	18	8

Errors excepted by me Joseph Willard.

[Endorsed]

Allow'd £20 10

Joseph Willards acc[t] sworn Ex.[2]

[1] "Banian, a loose gown, jacket, or shirt of flannel, worn in India" (Oxford English Dictionary).

[2] Massachusetts Archives, lviii. 516.

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An Acompt of the Loss ye Nicholas Pike, (an Inhabitant of Harvard College), sustain'd by the Consumption of the same by Fire.

	£	S	D
A Looking Glass	2	12	6
½ Dozen Chairs	6	10	0
Sett of Maps, 1 Picture	6	10	0
3 Brushes, Pair of Tongs	1	18	6
2 Shovels, pair of Bellows	3	10	0
Chiney & Earthen Ware	09	00	0
Tea Shelves & Book D^o^	2	10	0
Case of Knives & Forks	2	15	0
Sugar Box & 7½ ℔ of Loaf Sugar	3	00	0
1 ℔ of Chocolate, ½ ℔ of Tea, & a Canister	2	6	6
2 ℔ of Candles	0	15	0
½ of a Barrel of Cyder with ye Barrel	2	05	0
4 ℔ of Butter, 2 Iron Candlesticks	1	15	6
a hammer, a Coat, 2 jackets, pair of Breeches	50	00	0
2 Linnen Shirts; 3 new Cotton D^o^	27	09	0
6 Pair of Stockings, 3 Necks	14	10	0
Dictionary Latin, Eng. D^o^ 2 Virgils	17	10	0
Traps Translation of Virgil	8	00	0
Chest & 2 Double Locks, 2 Tables	15	10	0
¼ Cord of walnut Wood cut & carried in,	1	16	0
½ Dozen of Bottles, a Spilter Box	5	5	0
a Work'd Pocket Book, Sunglass	5	12	6
Grid Iron, Chafendish, & Snuffers	2	15	0
Gordens Geographical Grammer	3	15	0
2 Euclids, a Tully & Greek Lexicon	13	00	0
Hebrew Psalter & Grammer D^o^	3	00	0
Hebrew Bucstorf, & Eng. Bible	6	00	0
1 Greek Testament, 2 Latin D^o^	3	00	0
2 Greek Grammers	1	10	0
An Accidence & 3 Rhetoricks	1	15	0
Cæsars Commentaries	4	10	0
Seneca's Morals & a Homer	4	10	0
Sermons on various Subjects	2	10	0
Wollebius	2	10	0
	£239	15	6
Another Hebrew Grammar	2	5	0
Pris'd by Docter Kneeland and Lawfull money	241	10	6 Old Tenor
	32	1	4 03/4

Attested to before Mr Trowbridge.

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The Loss sustain'd by John Tompson in ye Consumption of H. College, other Things being sav'd

A Bedstead & Cord	4	12	6
A Looking Glass	1	5	0
½ of a Barrel of Cyder	0	15	0
	£6	12	6

[*Endorsed*]
Allow'd 26.10.
Nich^s^ Pike's Acco^t^,
Ex[1]

Here follows a List of Books and other Articles belonging to Curtice an Inhabitant of Harvard Hall which Articles were Burnt in said Hall.

An English Bible 4^s^/ Vinsons Catechism 2/5	0	6	5 0
Spiritual Warfare a new Book	0	4	8 0
Quakerism display'd	0	1	0 0
Oldfield's Logick	0	6	8 0
Ozels Logick	0	5	4 0
Watz's Astronomy	0	8	8 0
Gordons Grammar 9/4 Otis on Prosodia 3/	0	12	4 0
A Small Number of Pamplets	0	3	0 0
Euclides Elements	0	8	0 0
Lattin Dictionary	0	8	0
Tully 3/ Virgil 10/8 Lillies Grammar 1/4	0	15	0
Wolebius 3/ latin Testament 3/	0	6	0
Clarkes Introduction 4/8 Dugards Rhetorick 1/	0	5	8
Caesars Commentaries 10/8 Hedericus'es Lexicon 36/	2	14	0
Greek Testament 6/ Homers Iliads 24/	1	10	0
Greek Catechism 1/ Buxtorf Lexicon 13/4	0	14	4
Monies's Grammar 2/ Sewalls Grammar 3/	0	5	0
Schickards Grammar 3/ Hebrew Salter 6/	0	9	0
Two black Walnut Tables 16/ Look^g^ Glass 8/	1	4	0
Shovel & Tongs 4/	0	4	0
Bellows 4/8. Three Maps 6/	0	10	8
Tea Shelves 3/ Tea furniture 1/6	0	4	6
6 Chairs 30/ Chest 6/ 6 Bottles 2/ Cannester and Sugar Box with Sugar 2/8	2	0	8
Bookshelves & Flap 4/– An Old Hat 5/	0	9	0
A Square Hatt 10/8 a Coat 1–6–8	1	17	4
To four Locks 12/	0	12	0
A Hammar 1/	0	1	0
	16	17	3
The Above Apprisement is just in the Judgement of Us the Subscribers	17	6	0

Samuel Dean
Christo^r^ Bridge Marsh

Saml Curtice. Son of Phillip Curtice of Stoughton Clerk.
[*Endorsed*]
Saml Curtices Loss. Allowd 14. 15.
Ex[2]

[1] Massachusetts Archives, lvii. 507. [2] Massachusetts Archives, lviii. 519.

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The following is a List of the Things belonging to Ebenr and Sam. Barnard. yt were lost at ye Burning of Harvard College, 1764.

2 Bibles	0	16	0
2 Greek Testaments		8	
2 Latin Dº		5	4
2 Greek Grammars		3	4
2 Latin Dº		3	8
Hidericus's Lexicon	1	13	0
2 Hill's Dº	1	4	0
2 Cole's Dictionaries	1	1	4
2 Virgils	1	4	
2 Tullys	1	4	
2 Setts of Guthrie's Translation of Dº		3	
2 Sett's of Trapp's Transe of Virgil		2	
2 Setts of Precepe	2	2	4
2 Monis's Grammar		4	
2 Hebrew Psalters		10	
2 Watts's Logick	1		
Translation of Cicero de Oratore		10	
Homer 2 Vole		13	4
2 Gordon's Gramrs		15	
Milton's Paradise lost		6	8
Rollin's ancient History wth Maps	2	13	4
Rollin's Belles Lettres	1		
Florus		3	
Clark's Erasmus		1	8
2 Clark's Corderius's		2	8
2 Observations on the Classicks		12	
Life of Cæsar		6	
Johnson's English Dictionary 2 Vols	1		
Spectator	1	10	
Neat-bound Psalm Book		6	
Fisher's Arithmetick		5	
Gentleman's Library		6	
2 Clark's Introduction to making Latin		5	4
A small Virgil		3	4
Gentleman's Magazine 4 Books		4	
Eutropius		3	
	28	5	4

The Cadet		7	
The Tea Table		2	
2 Singing Books		12	
Volebius		5	
A Book concerning Geography		6	8
Watt's on Geography & Astronomy		4	
Cesar's Comentaries		10	
Several small bound English Books		9	
A Bed; very neat, Bedsted, Ticking Cord, Screws, &c - &c	9		
Very good Bed Quilt	2	13	4
2 Blankitts	1	16	
2 Prs of Sheets	1	6	8
2 Prs of Pillow-Cases		8	
6 Towels		12	
4 Shirts	2	2	8
22 Stocks		17	
5 Prs of Stockings	1		
6 Silk-Handkerchiefs	2		
a Silver-Neck-Buckle		6	
2 Black Neckcloths		10	
2 Summer Gowns	2	8	
2 Black Broad-Cloth Jackets & Breeches	5	6	8
A Snuff-colour'd Jacket		12	
1 yd of Russet		3	8
1 yd of Pladd		3	4
A work'd Pocket-Book		8	
A Gold-bound Hat	2	8	
A Hat Girdle & Buckle		3	4
A Prospective Glass		12	
2 Chests	1	13	4
2 Door-Locks		6	10
1 large Padlock		2	
6 Chairs	1	4	
1 Oval Table	1	6	8
1 Square Dº		13	4
A large looking-Glass	2	8	
a small Dº		8	
	45	14	6

A Sett of Maps		15	
6 Glass'd Pictures		10	
a Tea Kittle		14	4
3 Black Tea Pots 7 China Tea Cups & Plates Punch Bowl, slop-Bowl sugar Dish &c 2 Canisters Some Tea	1	3	
6 Silver Tea Spoons	1		
2 Prs Book Shelves wth neat Cover'd Flaps	1	4	
A Case for Bottles		5	
An angling Rod		3	
A pr of Shovel & Tongs, Bellows,		12	8
4½ Black Sattin Ribbon		6	
A Hat somewhat wore		8	
3 Prs of Hemp Gloves		11	
a green Cloth to cover a Table		6	
A pr of polished Andirons	1		
A large Stone Jugg		4	
A Study Chair		2	
2 Ivory-Books		6	8
Almost a Load of Wood		5	
Sundries	1	9	8
	11	5	4
	45	14	6
	28	5	4
Totus	85	5	2

Ebenezer Barnard
Samuel Barnard

[*Endorsed*]
Ebenr & Saml Barnard's Acct Ex

Allowd 72 10[1]

An Account of my Books, that were burnt in Harvard College.

Names	Price £	S	D
Hebrew Psalter	1	0	0
Bible	1	5	0
Psalm Book	1	2	6
Greek Lexicon	4	0	0
Greek Testament	1	10	0
Greek Grammar	0	7	0
Homer	0	18	0
Latin Testament	1	0	0
Virgil	3	10	0

[1] Massachusetts Archives, lvii. 520.

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Rhetorick	0	9	0	
Cæsar's Commentaries	4	0	0	
Tully	0	15	0	
Trap's Translation of Virgil	3	0	0	
Geography	2	0	0	
Euclid	2	10	0	
Logick	1	10	0	
Logick	0	6	0	
Accidence	0	6	0	
Total	£29	08	6	old Tenor
Furniture	47	05	5	
	£	S	D	
Sum Total	76	13	11	old Tenor per me John Barrows.
				Lawfull money 10 3 5¼

	£	S	D				
Book-Shelves	1	2	6		Allow[d]	8	16
Study-Lock	0	14	0		Jn° Barrows Acc[ts]		
Chest	6	15	0				
Shovel & Tongs	2	5	0		Ex		
Andirons	1	10	0				
Chairs	6	15	0				
Table	4	10	0				
Tea Kittle	4	10	0				
Looking Glass	1	2	6				
Tea pot	1	10	0				
Coffee pot	0	10	0				
Quarter of a Ticket[1]	1	13	9				
Cups and Saucers	0	11	3				
Carriage	9	0	0				
Spoons	0	5	0				
Candlestick	0	7	6				
pot & butter	0	15	0				
Bottle & Glass	0	5	0				
Razor & Soap	0	9	0				
Mug	0	5	0				
Almanack	0	2	11				
Spoon & plate	0	3	0				
Knife & fork	0	7	0				
bellows	0	19	0				
Snuff-box	0	7	6				
Snuffers	0	7	6				
Shoe brush	0	3	0				
72 6 9	47	05	5		42	14	9
0 3 3	29	12	4		0	3	6
72 10 0	72	6	9		42½	18	3[2]

[1] Doubtless a lottery ticket.

[2] Massachusetts Archives, lviii. 514–515. The various additions were corrected in the total and sum total.

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Lost by Fire in Harvard Hall — Janʸ 24 — 1764

Dictionary	0 12 0
Lexicon	0 10 8
Trappe Virgil	0 18 0
Tully with Guthries Translation	1 12 0
Latin & Greek Testament	0 6 0
Latin & Greek Grammar	0 4 0
Hebrew Grammar	0 3 0
Exercise for making Latin	0 2 6
Eutropius	0 4 0
A Book by Mr Wigglesworth	0 3 0
Bible	0 6 0
Bed & bedding	10 6 8
Chest & Table	0 18 0
Two Jackets	0 8 0
Writing Instruments	0 6 0
Locks	0 2 0
Tea Dishes	0 2 4
Bowl	0 1 6
Curling Tongs	0 1 8
Half a Dozen Bottles	0 2 4
Total	17 9 8

Lawful Money

By your Humble Servant

Samuel Cheney

Febʳʸ 6: 1764 Sworn to

[*Endorsed*]

Samˡ Cheneys Accᵗ

Father is Ebenʳ Cheney

Ex-[1]

Allow'd 15£

Lost by Fire in Harvard Hall Janʸ 25 1764

	£
Virgil	0 12 0
Tully	0 10 8
Lexicon	0 12 0
Guthries Translation 4 Vol.	1 14 8
Greek & Latin Testaments	0 6 0
Greek & Latin Grammars	0 4 8
English Exercise	0 2 6
Nomen Clator	0 1 6

[1] Massachusetts Archives, lviii. 521.

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Accidence	0	1	4
Cordery	0	2	0
Bible	0	6	0
Chest	0	8	0
Bottles Inkhorn & Ink	0	4	0
Pewter	0	3	0
Toasting Iron	0	2	8
In Money	0	12	0
Hebrew Grammar	0	3	0
Two Rasors	0	2	8
Total	6	8	8

Lawful Money

All of which Is humbly offer'd by
your humble Servant
Silvanus Ames

Feb^{ry} 6th 1764
Sworn

[*Endorsed*]
Ames Acct
Father Thos Eames
Sworn Ex

Allow'd £7 5

Whereas the Exhibiting of my first Account being very Sudden, the following Articles were omitted by me: which I would Now Beg Leave to Offer

	£	S	D
An English Dictionary	0	10	8
A Greek Catechism	0	00	8
A pair of gloves	0	02	0
Two pair of Shoes	0	08	0
A pair of Stockings	0	08	0
Two Earthern Pots	0	01	2
Total	1	10	6

Which are Humbly Offerred by youor Humble Servant
Silvanus Ames

Plymouth ss May 21 1764
The said silvanus Ames made oath to the Truth of the aboue account Before me Daniel Johnson
Jus^{t} of Peace

[*Endorsed*]
Allow^{d} £7 . 5
A Further account of
Silvanus Ames [1]

[1] Massachusetts Archives, lviii. 510–511.

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Chest 2/8 Trunk & two Locks 4/4 Sleve Buttons 1/4 . . .	0	8	0
Rasor 1/4 Slate /8 Knife & Fork 1/.	0	3	0
Two Dozen Glass Bottles 8/ Cupboard 1/4.	0	9	4
A Set of Tea Dishes 2/. Coffe Pot 1/4 Book Shelves 3/ . .	0	6	4
Pair of Sizers /8 Tea Canester /8 Dozen of Pipes. – & writing flap 1/8	0	3	0
A Coat	1	6	8
two Pillars 6/8. a Wollen Blanket 6/8	0	13	4
two Shirts 12/. Jacket 6/9	0	18	9
a black Gound & Hat	1	16	0
Errors Excep[td]	£16	14	3 L. M.[1]

Shrewsbury feb. 17. 1764

Silas Biglow

£16 : 14 : 3

[*Endorsed*]
Allow[d] £15. 4
Biggelow

Silas Biglow
Ex [2]

Acc[t] of Books & Apparrell &c[a] belonging to, and in the possession of Ensign Man, and consum'd in the Chamber improv'd by him, & Timothy Langdon — Viz.

a compleat Hebrew Bible, wth a Greek Testament at the End	£	1	4
Septuagint Translation of the Bible, compleat		2	
Latin Bible 8vo. 8/2 Greek Testaments 10/. a Latin Testament 3/. .		1	1
Virgil Delp. 12/. Ovid Metamorph. 12/. de Tristibus 6/8.		1	10 8
Homers Ilias 12/. Homer's Odyssey 5 Vol. by Pope 28/.		2	
a Quarto Bible with a Concordance & annotations Com[n] prayer &c[a] .		1	12
a Small Bible 4/. Reusneri heroica Symbola 6/.			10
a Commentary on the Revelations Fol[o] 20/ Galen's Works 8/. . . .		1	8
Aristotle's Ethicks 8vo. 12/. Martin's Philosoph[l] Grammar 30/. . . .		2	2
Hebrew Psalter & 3 Grammars by Robinson Monis & Sewall 8/. . . .			8
Select Dialogues of Lucian by Dugard			5
2 Wollebius Compen[d] 12/. Berry Street Sermons 17/.		1	9
Flavel's Method of Grace 4to.			6
Justin's History by Clerk 12/. Seneca's Morals Englishd 8/.		1	
Erasmus' Dialogues 8vo. 8/. Select Ditto by Clerk 3/.			11
2 Clerks introduction to the Latin Tongue 10/ Baileys Exercise 3/. .			13
Milner's Greek Grammar 10/8. Westminster Ditto 2/8.			13 4
Greek Catechism, Tully's Epistles, Textor's D[o]			8
Boyle's Voyages 8vo. 12/. Italian Convert 3/.			15
Pasor's Lexicon in N[w] Test[m] 6/. Book of Job in Greek heroic Verse 4/.			10
Littlton's Diction[y] Eng. & Lat. 4to 18/. Coles Ditto 12/.		1	10
Castalio's Dial[g] & Select Fables of Æsop by Clerk			4
Lily's Grammar, English Prosodia, & Pomfrett's Poems			8

[1] Lawful money.

[2] Massachusetts Archives, lviii. 512.

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SOUTH FRONT OF *HARVARD HALL*

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SOUTH FRONT OF *HARVARD HALL* AT *CAMBRIDGE* IN NEW ENGLAND

Engraved for The Historical Society of Massachusetts
from the original by Du Simitiere
in the possession of The Library Company of Philadelphia

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Various prospects of Mankind, Providence &c[a] 8vo.			9
Ward's Mathematicks 9/. Gravesand's Math[l] Elements 28/.		1	17
Horace Delp.' 12/. Cicero Delp.' 12/.		1	4
Travels of 14 Eng. Men to Jeru[m] 6/. Drake's Voyages 2/.			8
Three clean paper Books, a Quire in Each.			6
A parchm[t] cover'd Book 2/4. Tate & Brady's Psalms 4/.			6 4
Dares' Trojan War 4/. Guthrie's Tryal of Int. in X 3/.			7
King's Heathen God's, & Sylvanus' Homer			8
Duke of Buckingham's Works, & Doc[t] Chauncey's Dudleian Lectures			8
Carried over	£28	11	4
Brought over	£28	11	4
Mariners Compass new rectified 3/ Brattle & Burgers dic[s] Logic 6/. .			9
Farnaby & Dugard's Rhetor[c] 3/. Livy's Roman History 2 Vol. 18/. .		1	1
Origin of Human Soul 3/. Whole Duty of Man 4/.			7
Kennett's Roman Antiquities			9
Smith's Theory of moral Sentiments			12
Freeholder 6/. Watts' Strenght & weakness of hum[n] Reason 4/. . .			10
a Large Demy clean paper Book Cost			6 8
a Red Morocco pocket Case			8
Candlesticks Snuffers & Chaffingdish			6
a Small Round Table & 1 Chair			10
3 pewter plates & 2 Wine Glasses			6
a Small Looking Glass 6/. a Book Case 6/.			12
a Table Cloth, 3 Towells & a Good Hammer			8
An Exquisite Violin presented to me for its intrinsic Worth, with a Compleat Tutor for the Same		1	8
Apparel.			
2 Shirts, 3 p[r] Hose, a black Gown & Hat, a plad and Calimanco Gown, a Coat, a Jacket, a pair Breeches, Shoes & night Cap	10		
	£46	04	

Boston Feb[y] 16th 1764.

Errors excepted

p[r] Ensign Man [1]

[12 February, 1765]

Petition of *Richard* and *Samuel Draper*.

A Petition of *Richard* and *Samuel Draper*, Pinters, shewing That in *January* 1764, they had in the Hands of Mr. *Andrew Eliot*, Butler of *Harvard-College*, a number of Books particularly mentioned, which were consumed by Fire, for which they pray an Allowance of *eleven Pounds fourteen Shillings*, for the Reasons mentioned.

Read and committed to Col. *Nichols*, Mr. *Whitney*, and Col. *Ward*, to consider and report.[2]

[1] Massachusetts Archives, lviii. 505–506.

[2] House Journal, p. 232. Apparently no further action was taken.

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On behalf of Mr. GEORGE L. KITTREDGE, Mr. Charles S. Rackemann read the following note:

Our associate, Mr. Albert Matthews, in his important paper on Sir Matthew and Lady Holworthy, remarks:

It would be pleasant to know how Sir Matthew Holworthy became interested in the small, far-away college in New England, and what influences led him to bequeath so large a sum, but the facts are beyond recovery.[1]

He conjectures that Sir Matthew was influenced by Henry Henley, probably a relative of his third wife.

It is worth noting that Lady Holworthy (probably this same third wife) was interested in the dissenting clergy. This appears from a passage in the Papers of Thomas Woodcock, a Puritan minister, who was ejected from the living of St. Andrew Undershaft, London, in 1662, and died in 1695. The passage is as follows:

Of persecutors. — The Mayer of Taunton by a new charter was to goe in scarlet, he said jestingly, as threatned to Dye his gown by persecuteing the Dissenters. On the first Lords Day he was at church, a great Rat came and sate on his shoulder, which amazed him: and after another day, came and sate on the Desk before him.

Justice Parr of Exceter came to Mr Atkins house to cary him prisoner to the Gaol, they not opening the door he broke it: Mr Atkins was sick of the Gout in bed, not able to rise, but he forced him when he could neither go nor stand, caused him to be caryed in a chair to Jail. A friend laid down the fine required: so he was left to be caryed home. This Justice not long after fell ill of the Gout (as Naamans leprosy clave to Gehazi) but he got ease, would rise and put on his clothes, said he was well: but as he put on his stockins, fell down and dyed.

These 2 storys are writ from credible hands to my Lady Holworthy.[2]

Woodcock, it may be added, shows his own interest in New England by telling two stories about Thomas Shepard (one referring to a storm which endangered the ship in which he was sailing to this country) and a brief anecdote of "Laud's speech of men going to New England."[3]

[1] Publications, xiii. 153–180.

[2] Extracts from the Papers of Thomas Woodcock, edited by G. C. Moore Smith, p. 87 (Camden Miscellany, xi).

[3] Pp. 53–54.

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Mr. ALBERT MATTHEWS spoke as follows:

It is possible to add a few bits of information in regard to the extracts just quoted by Mr. Kittredge. The town of Taunton received from Charles I a grant of incorporation on March 20, 1626–27,[1] and the first mayor to be elected under the charter was Andrew Henley.[2] This Andrew Henley was the grandfather of Mary Henley, the first wife of Sir Matthew Holworthy, and the great-uncle of Susanna Henley, Sir Matthew's third wife. For the double reason, therefore, that both branches of the Henley family were from Somerset and that a Henley was the first mayor of Taunton, anything relating to the history of that place would be of interest to Lady Holworthy and would naturally be communicated to her. But it is possible to go a step farther and show that the Lady Holworthy to whom the above stories were written was, as Mr. Kittredge conjectures, Sir Matthew's third wife. It could not have been his first wife, for she died in 1658, or seven years before he was knighted, and so would not have been alluded to as "Lady" Holworthy. It could not have been his second wife, for she was not a Henley, and, moreover, she died before 1669, and the episode of the rat did not occur until 1677. Speaking of the granting of the charter in 1627, the Rev. Joshua Toulmin says:

This instance of royal favour was not, however, sufficient to attach them to the interests of the king in the civil wars. But, in this town a spirited stand was made against the unconstitutional measures of Charles I. and the cause of the parliament found here firm adherents and a most important support. This conduct drew on it, afterwards, the resentment, and awakened the jealousy of Charles II. who demolished its walls and took away its charter, by a quo warranto, in 1660. . . . It continued without its charter for seventeen years, when the same king, at the suit

[1] Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 1627–1628, p. 101.

[2] Toulmin, History of Taunton, revised by James Savage (1822), p. 226 note. Savage states that "the old tattered colours of the 33d regiment of foot, under which they were engaged in several actions, during the revolutionary war with North-America, are hung up in the chancel of this church" — that is, St. Mary Magdalen, and that "on the arrival of that regiment in this town, after the peace of 1783, they had new colours presented to them, which were consecrated here, and the old ones deposited in the vestry" (p. 135 note). And also (p. 283) that the last recorder of Taunton was the Earl of Guilford — better known as Lord North.

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and intercession of Dr. Peter Mew, then bishop of Bath and Wells granted it a new charter.[1]

Now "the Mayor of Taunton by a new charter," according to the story, "was to goe in scarlet."[2] Hence the episode could not have occurred before 1677, and I think we may safely assume that its hero was the first mayor under the new charter — namely, Roger Gale.[3]

The Rev. Robert Atkins was twice ejected from Exeter, once in 1660 from East Peter's, and again in 1662 from St. John's. His harsh treatment by Justice Parr may have occurred at any time between 1660 and his death in 1685, but the precise date cannot be determined. For many years after the Restoration Exeter was the scene of violent measures against the Nonconformists. On May 27, 1676, Sir Joseph Williamson, Secretary of State, wrote to Thomas Walker, Member of Parliament for Exeter, as follows:

His Majesty having received an account from Sir James Smith, your fellow member, on his arrival here of the great care of the magistrates and justices of Exeter for effectually putting in execution the laws against Nonconformists, and that there had been spread abroad a malicious

[1] History of the Town of Taunton (1791), pp. 56–57. The copy of this book in Gore Hall has on a fly-leaf the inscription: "From the Author to the Library of Harvard College in Cambridge in the Common-wealth of Massachusetts." In 1776 Mr. Toulmin published "The American War lamented. A Sermon Preached at Taunton, February the 18th and 25th, 1776."

Toulmin gives an account (pp. 39–41 of the 1791 edition, pp. 225–227 of the 1822 edition) of the Henley Almshouse, which was founded in 1637 by Dorothy Henley, the widow of Andrew Henley, the first mayor of Taunton. In the will of Andrew Henley, dated October 11, 1630, and proved January 14, 1630–31, there is this item: "My eleven Almshouses in Taunton, £4.8.0. to be paid quarterly, by 2/ to each house, for one year after my decease" (Somersetshire Wills, i. 14).

[2] In a note to a previous paper it was stated that "'scarlet days' was a term peculiar to Yarmouth and meant those days on which the aldermen or bailiffs or mayor of Yarmouth attended church in their scarlet gowns" (Publications, viii. 361 note). Since then the section of the Oxford English Dictionary containing the term has been published, and it appears that the term is not peculiar to Yarmouth but is found elsewhere in England, though the earliest extract quoted by Dr. Henry Bradley is from our Transactions.

[3] Toulmin, History of the Town of Taunton (1791), p. 58. The names of those then elected are omitted in Savage's edition. For references to the new charter see Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 1675–1676, p. 39; 1676–1677, p. 551.

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report, as if such their proceedings were disliked by him, at least that they were not altogether according to his mind in that matter, I am commanded by him to assure you of the contrary, and that he takes very kindly from them their care and diligence in that particular, and desires they will not only continue it, but that they do by all means endeavour to find out who they are that spread those false and malicious reports of his mind in this point, that they may be proceeded against with fitting severity.[1]

Freeman states that "besides ministers who lost their livings by the Act of Uniformity, there were in 1683 thirty-eight men and four women in Exeter gaol . . . on charges of non-conformity."[2] Calamy refers to the story about Mr. Atkins sent to Lady Holworthy, though he does not assign a precise date.[3] It is related of Mr. Atkins that "he was hindered in his administration of the Sacrament of Baptism by Mrs. Payne, of Weymouth, who stood on the bench, and shouted, 'Woe! woe! woe! which brother?'"[4]

Mr. Kittredge's extracts have caused me to make a fresh assault on the perplexing genealogy of the Henley family, with the gratifying result that I have succeeded (as I think) in identifying the Henry Henley who in 1669 gave £27 to Harvard College. That benefactor is described as "of Lime in Dorsetshire." In "An Account of the Charities of Lyme Regis, as tendered to the Commissioners, May 5th, 1834," are these two items among others:

Sir Matthew Holworthy, by will,[5] dated 9th May, 1677, gave £100 in money, the interest to be paid to the poor; vested in the churchwardens and overseers.

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[1] Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 1676–1677, p. 132.

[2] Exeter, p. 131.

[3] S. Palmer, Nonconformist's Memorial (1803), ii. 32–35.

[4] W. Cotton and H. Woollcombe, Gleanings from the Municipal and Cathedral Records relative to the City of Exeter (1877), p. 173.

[5] Turning to the will itself (Publications, xiii. 176–180), no such item will be found; but no doubt Lyme Regis received the money under the following clause (xiii. 177):

Item I doe will and ordaine the sume of Two Thousand pounds shall be giuen and disposed of In and to such Charitable vse and vses as shalbe directed in and by a Schedule hereunto annexed or in or by other writing vnder my hand writing. The same to be paid within Two yeares next ensueing my decease. And for default

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Henry Henley of Leigh, by will, dated 13th August, 1695, gave in money £40. The interest to be mainly employed in the schooling and maintenance of young children, and binding them out to handicraft trades; and maintenance and support of ancient people past their labour.[1]

Why should Sir Matthew Holworthy, whose family came from Gloucestershire, have been particularly interested in Lyme Regis? And why should Henry Henley of Leigh, who belonged to a Somerset family, also have taken a similar interest? When preparing my previous paper, I noted that Henry Henley of Leigh had a son, also named Henry, who was described as "of Colway." This Henry Henley of Colway was a son of Henry Henley of Leigh by the latter's first wife Susan Morridge,[2] and so was an own brother of Susanna Henley, the third wife of Sir Matthew Holworthy. If, now, a reason can be given why Henry Henley of Colway took a deep interest in Lyme Regis, our curiosity in regard to the similar interest displayed by Henry Henley of Leigh and by Sir Matthew Holworthy is at once satisfied. That reason is found in the fact that Colway was, as Hutchins wrote in 1774, "anciently a manor, now a farm, about half a mile N. W. from Lyme,"[3] and so was practically part of the latter; and the Henley family was a noted one in Lyme Regis for many years — perhaps is so still.[4] I think, therefore, that we need

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of such Schedule and writing I doe entreate my Executors to dispose thereof in and to such Charitable vse and vses as they shall judge best.

The executors of Sir Matthew's will were his wife and his father-in-law, Henry Henley of Leigh.

[1] G. Roberts, History of Lyme Regis and Charmouth (1834), p. 301.

Roberts states (p. 95) that on June 16, 1644, "the day for returning thanks for the town's deliverance" from the Royalist forces that were besieging it, Hugh Peters "preached in the forenoon, and chose the 23rd verse of the 136th Psalm for his text, and in the afternoon, the 7th verse of 1st of Luke."

A frequent visitor to the town was Thomas Hollis (1720–1774), the second Harvard benefactor of that name, and some details about him are given by Roberts (pp. 165, 220, 292–294).

[2] In Somersetshire Wills is the following: "Susanna Henley, of Colway, Dorset, decd. Admon. Jan. 13, 1650–1, to her husband Henry Henley" (v. 129). This was perhaps Henry Henley of Leigh's first wife, who may have been living with her son Henry Henley of Colway.

[3] History and Antiquities of the County of Dorset, i. 256.

[4] "From this date," wrote G. Roberts about 1834, referring to the year 1659, "several individuals of the HENLEY family, persons of large property, residing

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not hesitate in identifying the Harvard benefactor with the brother of the third Lady Holworthy. As Henry Henley's gift of £27 was acknowledged in June, 1669, or only a few months after the marriage of Sir Matthew Holworthy to the benefactor's sister, and as Sir Matthew's wife, as now appears from Mr. Kittredge's extracts, was interested in the dissenting clergy, we have a reasonable explanation of the influences which led Sir Matthew to make his large bequest to the New England college.

Mr. CHARLES K. BOLTON communicated a sketch of Edward Breck, of Dorchester, prepared by Dr. Edward Breck of Boston, and a letter about the Quakers written by Edward Breck at Dorchester on 17 August, 1655, and published the next year in London. These follow.

Edward Breck, the author of the vigorous letter printed below, was an excellent specimen of the sturdy type of Briton that settled New England. The name which, in different variations, means "ruddy" in the several Gaelic tongues, points distinctly to a Celtic origin, but whether Scottish, Irish, or Welsh is unknown. A vague family tradition derives the stock from the highland Stewarts of Appin; but it is significant that the country about Liverpool and Chester, where the name of Breck was common, lies not far distant from the marches of Wales. As early as 1323 Robert del Brek and his son Thomas (Robert is a persistent family name) are mentioned in the roll of inhabitants of West Derby, Lancashire, and in 1325 Thomas is put down as Thomas del Breck at Liverpool, a part of which West Derby now forms. In and about Liverpool the name still persists, there being a Breck Road, Breck House, Breck Side Park, and Walton Breck Road to this day, though no Brecks now reside in England.

Edward Breck (or Brecke, as the name was generally spelled in the earliest days) who came to Dorchester with the company of the Rev. Richard Mather in 1635, is usually called yeoman, though of

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at Colway, were representatives [in Parliament] of the town: from 1711, many served the office of mayor. The borough was at one period under their influence" (Municipal Government of the Ancient Borough of Lyme Regis, p. 43 note).

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ancient lineage, and possessing kinsmen mentioned in the heralds' visitations (*e. g.* Chester) as gentlemen. He was the son of Robert and the grandson of Hugh or Thomas, probably the former, who died at Rainforth (now Rainford), part of the parish of Prescot, Lancashire, in 1591. Edward, who was born in or near the year 1600, was probably left by his father in good circumstances, for he was a landholder and "man of distinction" before he left Rainforth for New England, and he brought with him to Dorchester a man-servant, as appears from the letter written him about the year 1646 by his old pastor, the Rev. James Wood, from Ashton, near Rainforth: "I pray you commend me dearly to your sonn Robert, & to your man John Birchall, that went over with you frō our towen."[1] Edward began at once to take an important part in the public life of the Dorchester settlement, and served the town in various capacities, including repeated terms as selectman, while his eldest son, Robert, moved to Boston and became a prominent merchant. The latter bought many tracts along the water-front, the deeds of which are recorded, and also received in 1655 from his father, Edward, a house and garden in Boston, recovered by law-suit. Robert left no descendants, and in all probability left the country soon afterwards for Galway in Ireland.[2] One of Edward's daughters, Elizabeth, married John Minot, from whom the American family of that name is descended. Edward's eldest son (after the departure of Robert) was John, who held the rank of Captain in the colonial forces, and whose grave-stone, in perfect condition, still stands in the old grave-yard at Upham's Corner, next that of his son, Ensign Edward. John, from whom all the Brecks of this branch are descended, was the son of Edward's second wife, Isabell, who was the widow of John Rigby. The loss of Edward's first wife, as well as of a son and a daughter, is referred to in the letter of the Rev. James Wood as follows: "but me thinkes my thoughts returne this Apollogie for my old frend, he is in sorrowe for his dear wife, for his sweet daughter, both which I hear God hath

[1] New England Historical and Genealogical Register, ii. 255–260. Cf. v. 396–397; xi. 338.

[2] Because in an unrecorded deed there is mention of "Robert Breck of Galway in Ireland Merchant," it has been erroneously asserted that he was an Irishman. (See J. B. Cullen, Story of the Irish in Boston, 1889, p. 20; Journal of the American-Irish Historical Society, 1904, iv. 56.)

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of late taken vnto himselfe. So hopefull a sonne here, so gracious & sweet a wife & daughter there, cannot but lye closse to a tender father & loueing husband's hart." Edward Breck died in the year 1662, leaving an estate, the value of which ran into hundreds of pounds sterling, a large sum for his day, while his son, Captain John, died in 1690, worth over £1350. From John descend the families of Breck, Minot, Parkman, Blake, Tuckerman, Denny, Shaw, Sturgis, and others prominent in the Colony.

It is significant of the degree of refinement obtaining among even the earliest pioneers of New England, that in the inventory of Edward Breck's estate occurs the mention of a bath-tub; while the general culture of the period and place is proved by the large number of well written letters still extant.

Among the latter none is more interesting than that printed below from the copy of the quarto pamphlet in the British Museum, London.[1] It forms but one-fifth of the pamphlet, the remainder being made up of the answer of the Quakers to Mr. Breck's accusations. It may be pointed out that Breck could not have known anything about the Quakers except through hearsay, since the first persons of that sect to tread New England soil were the women, Anne Austin and Mary Fisher, who arrived in 1656, a year after Breck's letter to his old friends at Rainforth was written. Since there can be no doubt that the colonists were well informed upon all such subjects as those of witchcraft and Quakerism, which they were sure to confound, it may be imagined into what a hostile atmosphere these two wretched women were plunged. Thrust into prison at once, they were then stripped and examined, and soon afterwards shipped off to Barbados. Mr. James Bowden[2] opines that it was a happy thing for Austin and Fisher that no abnormal feature, such as a mole, was found on their bodies; but the letter of Edward Breck shows us that it was not natural, physical features that were sought, but rather something in the nature of the "silk thred" that was found on the woman of Bristol, the story of which was no doubt as familiar to the majority of Massachusetts citizens as to Mr. Breck. As Edward Breck died in 1662, he

[1] There are copies in the Library of Congress, John Carter Brown Library, and Watkinson Library. The last secured the Brinley copy (Brinley Catalogue, i. 65). Our associate Mr. Frederick L. Gay also owns a copy.

[2] History of the Society of Friends in America, i. 35.

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saw only the beginnings of the persecution of both the Quakers and the alleged witches, which in a few years reached such a tragic climax.[1]

Edward Breck *to the Church of CHRIST at* RAINFORTH.

DEerly beloved in the Lord Jesus Christ, I have sundry times had a mind to salute you in the Lord, but partly my own rudeness, and partly other obstacles in the way, I have not yet communicated any thing to you, as to the Church of Christ since my departing; but because God hath removed me so far distant, by reason whereof I am never like to see your faces, and age and weakness coming upon me, putting me in minde of my end; that I might do something at last whereby to testifie my love & dear respects to you, and that in all this length of time of absence, you might perceive that I have not wholly forgotten you, but with many secret desires breathed after your eternal welfares; I have therefore for your sakes, pressed myself to break through many difficulties, presuming upon your kind acceptance, notwithstanding you finde in me much weakness in expression, matter, argument, *&c.* But not to trouble you with a long Preface, where my work is small, little I have to say, and slenderly I shal deliver it, unless God make known his power through weaknes; that which I have to say is a friendly exhortation to continue in the *grace and faith of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ*, and not to be carried away with every wind of Doctrine, whereby you should be spoiled

[1] The title of the pamphlet reads as follows:

An / Answer / to a / Scandalous Paper, / Wherein were some / Queries / Given to be answered. / And likewise, / Therein is found many Lies and Slanders, and / false Accusations against those people whom he (and the World) / calls Quakers. Dated from Dorchester in New-England, August / 17. 1655. subscribed, Edward Breck, which was directed / to a People at Rainforth in Lancashire, which / he calls, A Church of Christ. / The Truth is cleared of his Scandalls, Lies, / and Slanders, and he found to bee a Reproacher of the / Church of Christ. / His Paper and Quæries answered by those people cal- / led, Quakers. / [Text quoted from Rom. 15. 3; Isa. 52. 14, 15; Matth. 5. 11, 12.] / London, Printed for Giles Calvert, at the Black / Spread-Eagle neer the West end of Pauls. 1656.

The pamphlet contains nineteen leaves. The title fills the recto of the first leaf. Breck's letter fills the second, third, fourth, fifth, and sixth leaves, ending at the top of the recto of the seventh leaf. The Answer begins on the verso of the seventh leaf, which though not numbered is regarded as p. 2, and fills pp. 2–21. Pages 22–24 contain twenty-seven "Quaeries," headed as follows: "So now to thee, who hath confessed thou hath none other Light, nor knows none other way to Christ thy Saviour, then the holy Scriptures, a few Quaeries to thee, and all those thou calls Ministers in *New-England* and elsewhere."

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of your *faith and hope* [ii][1] which you have in the Lord Jesus Christ: Oh Beloved! Remember the dayes of old, and the yeers of ancient times, when after the *Marian-times* that Religion began to spring God honoured *Rainforth* with many godly pillars, men famous in their days, for faith and holiness, and the profession of true Religion, when the Country was overwhelmed, or greatly clouded with Religion, or Superstition, yet these men (whose names are not yet worn out of memory) cleave fast to the truth; the face of opposing, jeering, scorning and reproaching enemies, their reproaches did not dant the spirits of these men, but they patiently bare it with joy, and prest on forward in the waies of Truth of the Gospel, *for the price and high calling of God in Iesus Christ*: The next Generation I was a little better acquainted with, whose names are fresher in your memories, divers godly people God raised up to do him some *Service*, and to profess and defend his *Truth*, & maintain his *Ministery*, which was a great thing they laboured after; these *men* gave not their mindes with *Balaam*, to *look out for visions*, to *curse Gods People*, nor to *rail on Magistracy, nor Ministry*, but *humbly* and *in the feare of the Lord, submitted themselves to Jesus Christ in the use of his owne Institutions, so farre as he gave them liberty and ability thereunto.*

And now, what the present *Generation* is since I left the Countrey, I do not so well know, many of the old flock being dead and removed; [iii] yet (I hope) there is some breathings of *Spiritual life* amongst you, and *men holding forth the faith, and profession of faith and true Religion in sincerity*, notwithstanding what may be otherwise found among you: My Exhortation therefore is, *To hold forth this Faith, and continue faithfull therein untill Death, never leave it, forsake it not lest God forsake you, and cast you off for ever*; but Truth is Beloved, and that which is my griefe, that I have been informed, and dare not but believe it, that there are men among you who are departed from the faith and purity of the Gospel to depend up Jesuiticall and Satannical delusions, I mean such as go under the name of *QUAKERS*, who depend not upon the Scriptures, for Light, but on what they receive from a Spirit which casteth them into a Trance, what these Trances are, let men of understanding judge, for I am weak, onely tell you what I think, they are either from the good Spirit of GOD, as hee spake by the mouth of his holy Prophets in Visions, *&c.* or from the DEVILL; if they bee from the good Spirit of GOD, then they are like to that Spirit which spake by the PROPHETS, they accord with all the writings of the Prophets, and most of all with all the doctrins and sayings

[1] These figures are inserted for convenience, as the original is not paged. The text has been collated with Mr. Gay's copy of the original pamphlet.

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of Jesus Christ, his *Ordinances* and *Institutions*. Secondly, they bring a man that receive them, into a humble, low, and meane esteeme of HIMSELFE, [iv] so that he will be ready to fall down with the Prophet, *Esay* 6. 5. and to cry, *Wo is me, I am undone, because I am a man of unclean lips, and I dwell among men of unclean lips, for my eyes have seen the King of the Lord of Hosts*; his neer approach to God laid him low, but for brevities sake, I give you no more Arguments, but let the spirits of these *Quakers* be tried a little by these briefly, *Doth that spirit which casts you into your trances make you like the old Prophets? Doth it accord with the Law, and Testimony? with Moses and the Prophets? with the Writings of the holy Apostles, and the Doctrines of Christ, his Orders and Institution?* then something might be favourably spoken in defence and excuse thereof; but if on the contrary, the spirit which bringeth you into your Trances, when your bones quake, and you think you hear the voice of God, if the revelations and visions of this spirit speak contrary to the Prophets and Apostles, yea sometimes contradict and blaspheme, yea and sometimes amongst yourselves be contrary to your owne visions; yea, if this spirit when you speak, teach you to speak non-sense, idle, rediculous and foolish things, bee said false doctrine, and contradictions, if it provoke you to speak blasphemously against the Lord Jesus Christ, crying downe his Institutions, as Magistracy, Ministry, Sacraments, Sabboths, *&c.* let me ask you, Did that spirit ever proceed from the Father and the Son, that breathed out Blasphemies in his face? Judge [v] in your selves. You think it no blasphemy, but I pray consider it, Christ held forth in his Ordinances he breatheth in them, and walketh in the middest of the *Golden Candlesticks*, conveying his heavenly Grace through them as through so many golden pipes: Now to have Magistracy, and Ministery, Sacraments, *&c.* spoken against, trodden underfoot, and held in contempt, and esteemed as very sleight and slender things, and those that cleave to the Scriptures and Ordinances to be accounted as Antichristian, Carnall, *&c.* I pray you whom doth this strike? on whom doth it light, if not on Christ the Author? and it not then Blasphemy? what do you call it? You may try a little what spirit it is that lets you into your trances by the effects, if your spirit make you more sensible of Originall sin, more sensible of your own vileness, more humble you, and cast you down in the sight of God, and lay you low, so that you can cry out with *Job, Behold I am vile, what shall I answer thee?* and with *Isaiah* cry out, *Woe is mee, I am undone, Isa. 6. 5.* then it were considerable; but if on the contrary, it makes the heart swell, and to cry, *Stand apart, I am more holy then thou*; and all that come not up to your attainments are of small value, little worth, just as the

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Pharisees, who trusted in themselves that they were righteous, and despised others: If I say it be thus, then judge you [vi] what spirit it is, I dare be hold to affirm, it is the Spirit of Satan, and not of God; you may think this hastily, and suddenly conclude; and I confess, I have not waded very deep into this matter, yet what is not from God I can easily conclude it is from the Devil, or man corruption, which is no better, I know no *medium*, unless it be the Jesuits, who no doubt have had a large hand this way by their sorceries to deceive the people, and have been known in *London* to quake and speak in the Congregations; these men (it is little doubt) might make a covenant with the Devil, & in the finest way of *witchcraft* & *sorceries* convene it over unto others; by an implicite covenant seduce men, thinking no such thing, but rather as though God had more abundantly declared his love to them more then to any people in the world, whenas indeed the matter is nothing els but Satan transformed into an Angel of light; for this purpose let me make bold to report unto you this story which is credibly reported to have been in or about *Bristol*, There was a mans wife desired to go to one of the *Quakers* meetings, her husband was unwilling, but after importunity he gave her leave, but she was so wrought upon in that meeting, that when she came home againe shee was filled with REVELATIONS, and spoke as though shee had spoke with the Tongue of ANGELS, to admiration farre above her selfe, her HVSBAND told her, she was bewitched, [vii] she was far enough from believing that, but he could not satisfie himselfe, but would search her body, to see what tokens he could find, & about her arm he found a silk thred; he inquired, how that came there; she seriously confessed, she knew nothing of it; well, saith he, this shall not remain here; then they took it away, and then she returned to be the same woman that shee was before she went to the Quakers Meeting: If this be a true Story, as I credibly believe, tell me, if there were witchcraft used in this Quakers meeting, yea, or nay?[1]

[1] The author of the Answer replied to this passage in a characteristic manner:

Now let all honest hearts, who read this thy Story, read thy Spirit and thy envy, who hatcheth Cockatrice-Eggs, and weaves Spiders-webs, and he that eatheth of these Eggs dyeth, and that which is crushed breaketh into a Viper: Now if thou be not blind thou may read thy Spirit in this Scripture, but for this Cause God hath sent thee strong delusions, that thou should beleeve lyes; and I know assuredly that thousands there is about *Bristol*, from whence thou fetcheth this lye, that will witness and testifie that this is a gross lye also, and that there was never any such thing done or acted there by those people called quakers: And therefore let all who have but any moderation, or dram of honesty in them, judge thy boldness and impudence in lying, who should send such a lying pamphlet as this is into another Nation, which thou professeth love to;

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Oh Beloved! you may well think the Devil hath a finer way of witchcraft now, then ever he had since the world began; no doubt yee can very well paint men to come to the Lords Table, and to preach Christ, for he hath sometime been a Preacher of Christ himself, you know, for no good will to Christ, you may be sure; but who are they that are most apart to be taken? Are they men who of old hath been most neer to God, and walked before God, as your father *Abraham* did, and *lived the life of faith and holiness*, and *injoyed many sweet, and pleasant Soliloquies, peace and joy in believing, and many unspeakable consolations?* I am apt to think few of these men are taken, if any at all; but rather, *fickle minded men, unconstant, and unstable in their ways*, such as perhaps, do change their God and Religion divers times, or proud persons, such as affect singularity to be alone, & think it a brave thing to be taken up with Rapters above other [viii] men, who but they in the world! & in the mean time, who more proud, more fickle, and unconstant, more wrathful & passionate, more railing & blaspheming? can you think the Spirit of God doth close better with those men then any other? Truly no: And what can you imagine wil be the issue, after a curse driven this way? a certain time truly it is probable their works wilbe made manifest, & the tree wil be known by its fruit, if it be not already a little; I have learned what befel *Grinton*,[1]

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but thy hands is defiled with blood, and thy fingers with iniquity; thy lips hath spoke lyes, and thy tongue hath utterd perversness, and thy trust is in vanity and lyes; thou hast conceived mischief, and brought forth iniquity; and this is the fruits of thy Profession, which thou tells such a story of in the beginning of thy Paper, and of so many Generations which thou calls *Churches of Christ*; but there was never any Generation but might have such a *Church* as this is, whereof thou art a Member, which is grounded upon lyes, and reports, and stories; the *Pope* and *Iesuits* (which thou speaks of) can have no worse Foundation then thou hast: Therefore let all that profess this *Faith*, that thou art of, be ashamed of thee, and the fruits that thou brings forth, who hath made lyes thy refuge, and with falshood hast thou covered thy self as with a garment (pp. 13–14).

[1] Breck's charge on this head is thus replied to by the author of the Answer:

So thou goes on in thy accusing, and back-biting, and slandering: and thou brings up *Grimdleton*, whom thou sayes came up to Trances and Revelations, which thou saith fell at last to Popery and prophaneness. But this which we have only from thy own mouth, which is so stuft with lyes and slanders, who is set on back-biting, and slandering, and accusing, and thy ground is but by hearsay, we shall give little credit to what thou speaks, either of *Grimdleton*, or any else, for we know thy ground is falsity and lyes, and so there can no truth spring from that Root: But I do beleeve that thou does accuse *Grimdleton* falsly, and belye them, in that thou saith they are turned to Popery; but thy throat is grown

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a people come up to Trances and Revelations, fel at last to Popery and prophaneness, as I have been informed, and Popery I think is the main thing the Devil drives at now, rather I think, because the Jesuits hath been the chief fomenters of this *Quaking Religion*, and how do you finde it for the present in these people? do you often see them upon their knees? bewailing their sin? fill'd with godly sorrow & repenting-hearts? a thing God much delights in; with hearts weary and heavy laden, such as Christ calls to come unto him? do you finde them frequent in Familie-Duties, Catechizing, praying, &c. if you do, I shall be glad to hear it, and how it is I will not censure; but if you find it otherwise, then consider what fruit it is. Oh beloved! what shall I say? my hearts desire is, that you may be establish't in the faith of Gods elect, and that those that are already deluded may be reclaimed, and that all men may prevent the danger; if what I have said be but slender, as well it may be, that which I shall say can be but of [ix] like nature: Yet if I may not weary you too much, I would propose some Quæries to these men, and present the matter to consideration in another view. 1 Qu. *By whom do you hope to be saved?* My charity bids me make your answer, *By Jesus Christ the Son of God, who also in time became man, and made satisfaction to divine justice for the sin of his people, &c.* I hope you will accept my Answer. 2 Qu. *How came you to know there was ever such a man in the world?* Here also I will presume to answer for you, *By the Prophets which went before him, and by the witness of his holy Apostles, and Evangelists, who have left the Story in their holy record of the new Testament.* I trust you will not deny this neither. 3 Qu. *If Christ be the Saviour, and that the light and knowledg of him do spring from holy Scriptures, I ask, whether the Scriptures be any rule of Faith and Life in these days? Or are they abrogated, and put an end to by Christ, and hath he appointed another way for bringing his Elect to eternal life and salvation?* This Question I must leave you to answer your selves, onely for my part, I know no other way whereby to come to Christ my Saviour, then the holy Scriptures, which he hath commanded me to search, and which hee promised eternal life, *Iohn 5.* and whereof he curseth all men that addeth to them, or detracteth from them, *Revelations 21.* What you have to say to these things I know not, but these things I know; and this I know, that no man speaking by the Spirit of God calleth Jesus execrable, and what they do less that [x] vilifie and slight his Word

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so wide, that thou canst swallow any thing; and thou never heeds who thy Informers are, so that it feed that Root which grows in thee, which brings forth bitter fruit (pp. 14–15).

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and Ordinances, and upon a Spirit which crosseth and contradicteth Christ, and his Word and Ordinances; but I weary you too much, I shall leave this *Quaking Religion* to its tottering, untill it fall to its utter Ruin, which will be in Gods due time accomplish't, onely one word more, my Dearly Beloved, as I earnestly desire you to take heed of this *Quaking Religion*, so also of all other Sects and Schismes, Errors, and Heresies, whatsoever, and to settle your selves in the Faith and holy Order of the Gospel of Jesus Christ; to worship and serve him according to his appointment, but what that is I determine not, but whether *Presbyterian* or *Independant*, as many use terms which are better forborn, as God shall guide your Judgements, so walk in holiness of life, and beware of corrupt conversation; I have heard of too much that way, sundry, if not many, given up to lasciviousness, Covetousness, Drunkenness, Drinkings, Tiplings dayly, to the wasting of their Estates, and Ruine of their own souls: Take heed, take heed, O beloved take heed; I shall not need I hope to oppress you with many words, you have the LAW of GOD ingraven upon hearts, which convinceth your Consciences here, and will Judge you at the last Day, if Repentance prevent not; But *I* shall say no more, but commend you to God and to the WORD of his GRACE, which is able [xi] to build you up further, and to give you an inheritance among them that are sanctified. The Grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you all, and alway: Amen.

Dorchester, *in*
New-England,
Aug. 17.
1655.

Your old Friend, and
Brother in the Lord
Iesus,
Edward Breck.

Mr. MATTHEWS made the following remarks:

To Miss Pauline Willis[1] I am indebted for copies of four letters written by members of the Washington family of which the originals are in her possession, and for the introductory note which follows.

In his last visit to New England, in 1789, Washington spent the night of November 4th at Haverhill and the next day went to Andover, where he was entertained at the house of Judge Samuel Phillips. An interesting account of this visit was given in 1856 by the Rev.

[1] Miss Willis, now of London but formerly of Boston, is a descendant of Judge Phillips and a great-niece of the late William Willis, the historian of Portland.

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John L. Taylor,[1] and under date of November 5th, 1789, Washington himself wrote:

About sunrise I set out, crossing the Merrimack River at the town, over to the township of Bradford, and in nine miles came to Abbot's tavern,[2] in Andover, where we breakfasted, and met with much attention from Mr. Phillips, President of the Senate of Massachusetts, who accompanied us through Bellariki[3] to Lexington, where I dined, and viewed the spot on which the first blood was spilt in the dispute with Great Britain, on the 19th of April, 1775. Here I parted with Mr. Phillips, and proceeded on to Watertown, intending . . . to take what is called the middle road from Boston. The country from Haverhill to Andover is good, and well cultivated. In and about the latter (which stands high) it is beautiful. A mile or two from it you descend into a pine level, pretty sandy, and mixed with swamps, through which you ride several miles, till you begin to ascend the heights on which the town of Bellarika stands, which is also pleasantly situated 10 miles from Andover.[4]

As a result of this visit, Colonel William Augustine Washington, a nephew of the General's, was induced to send his two sons, Augustine and Bushrod, to the Andover Academy, where they lived in the family of the Rev. Jonathan French. This school for boys having been founded by Judge Phillips with financial assistance from his father Samuel Phillips of North Andover, and his uncle John Phillips of Exeter, it was but natural that he should take an interest in all the scholars, and particularly in these great-nephews of our first President.

Three of the following letters were addressed to Judge Phillips by members of the Washington family regarding the two young men, the fourth is a letter from their father William A. Washington to his uncle, which the latter speaks of and encloses with his own; it was never returned to him. The first was published by Mr. Taylor,[5] the others have not been printed before, so far as is known.

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[1] Memoir of His Honor Samuel Phillips, pp. 179–180.

[2] The tavern was kept by Isaac Abbott.

[3] Billerica.

[4] Diary of George Washington, from 1789 to 1791 (edited by Lossing, 1860), p. 47.

[5] Memoir of S. Phillips, p. 254.

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It may be well to preface the letters by explaining the relationship of the writers to General Washington. Colonel William Augustine Washington, born in 1757 at Wakefield, Bridge's Creek, Virginia, was the son of Washington's half-brother Augustine, who married Anne Aylett. In 1780 Colonel Washington married his first cousin, Jane, a daughter of Washington's own brother, John Augustine of Bushfield, whose wife was Hannah Bushrod. It was the last who wrote one of these letters, in which she speaks of her grandsons as the children of "a darling daughter of mine." Of the two sons of Colonel Washington who were at Andover Academy, the elder, Augustine, was born in 1778 at Haywood, Virginia, and died at the age of twenty. Bushrod was born in 1785 also at Haywood, died in 1830, and is buried in the vault at Mount Vernon. He married his second cousin, Henrietta Spotswood, a daughter of General Alexander Spotswood and his wife Elizabeth Washington, who was a sister of Colonel William A. Washington.

I

MOUNT VERNON. 28th. Sep. 1796.

SIR,

The enclosed letter, from my nephew to me, accompanying one from him to you, (which have been to Philadelphia & back), must be my apology for giving you the trouble of reading this address. I shall only add, that if there are any arrearages yet due to you, & you will let me know the amount, it shall be remitted from Philadelphia; at which place I expect to be by the first of November.

I am sir

Your Most Obed^{t} H^{ble} Ser^{vt}

G^{o} WASHINGTON.

The Honble Saml Phillips Esqr

II

HAYWOOD. SEP. 12th. 1796.

MY Dr UNKLE,

Wishing to make a remittance to Judge Phillips for the use of my sons, I dispatched my Steward with the inclosed letters to Fredericksb^{g} with 150 Dollars Alexandria Bank Notes, desiring him to exchange them for Bank Notes of the United States, which he was not able to accom-

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plish in the towns of Port Royal, Fredericksb^{g}, Falmouth or Dumfries, he brought back my letter & money. As you were so obliging as to say you would make remittances for me, "the means being put into your hands;" I have taken the liberty of inclosing you, with the inclosed letters, 150 Dollars Notes of the Bank of Alexandria, & shall esteem it a particular fav^{r} if you will exchange them for United States, or a Bill on Boston, & remit it with the inclosed letter to Judge Phillips. I have in my letter to Judge Phillips taken the liberty of mentioning that the remittance would now be made thro' you, mentioning at the same time my disappointment. I do not know whether he is advance or not for me, having made a remittance of 200 Dollars this Spring — & when I left Boston I had paid up in advance for their schooling & Board, & left some money with Judge Phillips for their necessary supplys, but I would allways wish to keep money in his hands, so that he should never be in advance for me.

Our relation Mrs Mildred Lee, is no more, I have just rec^{d} a letter from Mr Corbin Washington [1] informing me that she expired the 8th Inst.

It gives me much pleasure to hear that you & Mrs Washington enjoy good health, which may you long continue to do is the fervent prayer of my Dr Sir

Your Affectionate Nephew

W^{M} Aug^{r} Washington.

III

Bushfield. May 22nd. 1797.

My Dr Sir,

It is a long time since I have had the pleasure of a letter from you; a few lines now & then informing me of the progress of my sons, would confer a singular obligation on me, I have proof of your candor wh. I assure you my Dr Sir I consider as the surest token of Friendship & esteem. The affectionate manner in which my son, in all his letters mentions you, seems as if you were considered by him more as a parent than a common Friend. You have certainly Sir placed me under obligations to you that I fear I can never repay — accept the acknowledgments of a grateful heart, whilst you have thus confered obligations on me, to ask for farthur favors would be ingratitude, I shall therefore only inclose you my son Augustines last letter to me, & unless it should be perfectly con-

[1] Mildred Washington, who married Thomas Lee, and Corbin Washington were the children of John Augustine Washington, and hence the sister and brother of the wife of the writer of this letter.

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whether for the purpose of the sale of the collection by Mrs. Ames, or for its use in Rotterdam while she remained there, is not known. The title is:

Catalogvs | Variorum & insignium | Librorvm | Clariss. & celeberrimi viri | D. Gvilielmi Amesii S S. Theologiæ | Doctoris, & Professoris olim in illust. | Acad. Franekeranâ. | [Printer's emblem.] Amstelodami. | Typis Joannis Janssonii An. MDCXXXIV. 4to. pp. 22.

By a rough approximation, from the entries in this Catalogue, the library must have contained about six hundred volumes. In the Prince Collection at the Boston Public Library, the catalogue is bound in at the end of a volume of tracts. Thomas Prince's handwriting appears in several places in the volume; and one of his entries is on the farewell sermon of Thomas Hooker (second edition, London, 1641): "about mid July. 1633. He sail'd from the Downs for N E."

If the assumption is correct that Mrs. Ames brought the whole of this collection with her to Salem, and shortly afterward to Cambridge for the use of the College, that these books became an important part of its library [1] to which later the bequest of John Harvard was added, then the expressed desire of Dr. Ames to follow his friend Thomas Hooker to New England, and to render such service as he could here, was in part fulfilled.

Mr. FREDERICK L. GAY stated that three drawings of Harvard College, done by Du Simitière, were in the possession of the Library Company of Philadelphia.[2]

[1] Possibly too the College Library in its earliest days included the books of the Rev. Jose Glover said to have been brought over by his family. His interest in the establishment of the College and of the printing press in connection with it is well known; and the grant of the General Court to Mrs. Glover in June, 1639, of six hundred acres was perhaps in recognition of this help. Mr. George E. Littlefield in his Early Massachusetts Press (i. 19–58) has given an account of Mr. Glover and of his aid to the College.

The library of the Massachusetts Bay Company may have served in a similar way, as a part of the College Library. Its habitat is not known. See Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society for April, 1910, New Series, xx. 271–273.

[2] The drawings are in the Ridgway Branch. One is a water-color view of the "South Front of Harvard Hall at Cambridge in New England." Another is a water-color view of Holden Chapel, Hollis Hall, Harvard Hall, the old

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View of Harvard College about 1764

Engraved for The Colonial Society of Massachusetts
from the original by Du Simitiere
in the possession of The Library Company of Philadelphia

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Mr. WILLIAM C. LANE exhibited some recent acquisitions to the College archives, and two volumes called Harvard Degrees and Diplomas, collected and compiled in 1909 by our late associate, Mr. Morris H. Morgan.

Mr. HENRY H. EDES read extracts from documents relating to the contributions from several towns in 1653 toward the support of Harvard College and to the searching investigation of that seminary ordered in the same year by the General Court. These documents were recovered by the Corporation last year and include the rough draft of the long-sought report of the investigation and many papers of deep interest to the student of the early history of the College, including abstracts of the accounts of both Eaton and Dunster.

On motion of Mr. LANE, it was —

Voted, That the President be authorized to appoint a Committee to examine the evidence in regard to the foundations of two early houses lately uncovered by the excavations in Massachusetts Avenue, Cambridge, and report thereon for the benefit of the Harvard Memorial Society, which desires to erect a tablet commemorating these houses.

Mr. EDES, the delegate from this Society appointed at its last meeting to attend the conference held in New York on 25 March, to consider the preparation of a dictionary of American biography, reported that the meeting was largely attended; that tentative plans for the preparation of such a dictionary were made; that committees to further the undertaking were appointed; and that much interest and enthusiasm were manifested by those in attendance.

Stoughton College (pulled down in 1780), and Massachusetts Hall. The third is a "plan of Harvard Hall built in 1764." Reproductions of these drawings face pp. 16, 42, and 66.

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NOTE

John Tompson, whose losses by the burning of Harvard Hall in 1764 are recorded on page 35 above, was inadvertently overlooked in the biographical notes. He was the son of the Rev. William Tompson (William, Samuel, Edward) of Marshfield, and Scarborough, Maine, and wife Anna Hubbard; was born at Scarborough 3 October, 1740; Harv. 1765; ordained in 1768 at Portland, Maine; pastor at Standish and South Berwick, Maine; married first, 22 November, 1768, Sarah Small of Somersworth, New Hampshire, who died 30 August, 1783, aged 35 years; married secondly, in February, 1784, Sarah, daughter of Elisha Allen and widow of Capt. Samuel Morrill, born at Salisbury 14 February, 1743, and died at South Berwick 24 August, 1825. He died at South Berwick 21 December, 1828. (New England Historical and Genealogical Register, xv. 114–115; Ridlon, Saco Valley Settlements and Families, p. 1176.)

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ANNUAL MEETING, NOVEMBER, 1911

THE ANNUAL MEETING of the Society was held at the University Club, No. 270 Beacon Street, Boston, on Tuesday, 21 November, 1911, at six o'clock in the afternoon, the President, HENRY LEFAVOUR, LL.D., in the chair.

The Records of the last Stated Meeting were read and approved.

The PRESIDENT announced the death, since the last meeting, of CHARLES FRANCIS CHOATE, CHARLES AUGUSTUS CHASE, SAMUEL LOTHROP THORNDIKE, CHARLES GODDARD WELD, FRANCIS HENRY LINCOLN, and WILLIAM TAGGARD PIPER, Resident Members.

Mr. MELVILLE MADISON BIGELOW of Cambridge was elected a Resident Member.

The Annual Report of the Council was presented and read by the Rev. CHARLES E. PARK.

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL

The Society has held during the past year its six stated meetings. The attendance has been good. The communications which have been presented at these meetings have been of a very high order of interest and value. The April meeting was held in the Treasure Room of the Harvard Library, following a custom inaugurated the year before. This was one of the best attended meetings of the year and proved to be one of especial interest. Four other stated meetings have been held at No. 25 Beacon Street, and the thanks of the Society are due to the President and Directors of the American Unitarian Association for their continued hospitality to us.

Appreciating the value of the work, the Society has renewed its five-year subscription towards the cost of publishing the Annual

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Bibliography of American Historical Writings, which is edited by our associate Professor J. Franklin Jameson.

The Society has suffered very heavily from death during the past year, and it is with profound sorrow that the Council reports the passing from our number of the following Resident Members:

ADAMS SHERMAN HILL, founder of the Associated Press, for thirty years an instructor in Harvard College, a wise teacher, a kindly critic, who is remembered with affection and gratitude by all who came in contact with his distinct and lovable personality.

FRANCIS CABOT LOWELL, judge of the United States Circuit Court, Fellow of the Corporation of Harvard College, a member of one of our first families, to whose lofty traditions of character and public service he held himself sedulously true, an upright judge, a courteous and pure-minded gentleman, in whose untimely death the Commonwealth has lost a citizen of unusual distinction.

CHARLES FRANCIS CHOATE, who will be remembered chiefly as President for twenty years of the Old Colony Railroad, an able financier and yet a man of true literary tastes, whose well-recognized integrity and high professional standards rendered him an especially valuable director in many public and business affairs.

CHARLES AUGUSTUS CHASE, a veteran journalist, a man of wide learning, ready wit, and warm friendships.

SAMUEL LOTHROP THORNDIKE, one of that fine group of men, who while they lived in busy times always kept sacred in the day's routine the obligations of gentleness, courtesy, and culture; whose strong musical taste has left its ennobling mark upon the development of that art in Boston, and whose courtly figure comes inevitably to mind whenever one hears the phrase "an old-fashioned gentleman."

CHARLES GODDARD WELD, of gentle and humane spirit, who combined with the possession of great wealth an unostentatious simplicity which kept his left hand in ignorance of what his right hand did.

FRANCIS HENRY LINCOLN, a man of great prudence in practical affairs, and yet of refined enthusiasms, who in the midst of prosaic business matters maintained a spirit of constant kindliness and an unfailing sweetness of disposition.

WILLIAM TAGGARD PIPER, a rarely conscientious and serviceable man who brought to the discharge of his various philanthropic duties

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a deep sense of responsibility, a valuable experience, and a lofty devotion.

From among our Corresponding Members:

FRANCIS PHILIP NASH, professor emeritus of Hobart College, a man who may well claim distinction in the brotherhood of scholars, but who will be more widely remembered and more universally mourned for his humane spirit and sympathetic helpfulness, and whose sudden death came as a personal loss to the poor and unfortunate of his home town, as well as to the favored and the well-to-do.

There have been added to our roll of membership the following.

Resident Members —

JOHN ADAMS AIKEN,
MARK ANTHONY DE WOLFE HOWE,
EDWARD PERCIVAL MERRITT,
GEORGE FOOT MOORE,
CHARLES PICKERING PUTNAM,
ARTHUR PRENTICE RUGG,
JOHN TROWBRIDGE,
JOHN WOODBURY;

Corresponding Member —

EDWARD ROBINSON;

Honorary Member —

JOHN PIERPONT MORGAN.

The name of FREDERICK JACKSON TURNER has been transferred from the roll of Corresponding to the roll of Resident Members.

During the year nine members have availed themselves of the privilege of commuting their annual dues. This number is larger than that of any previous year. Inasmuch as this privilege redounds to the welfare of the Society as well as to that of the individual, it is commended to the attention of the members.

The money gifts to the Society for immediate use during the year have amounted to about eighteen hundred dollars.

The Council reports that the Publications of the Society are being gradually extended. Volume XII, containing the Transactions of 1908–1909, has been distributed during the year. Volume XIII, containing the Transactions of 1910–1911, may be expected this coming January. Volume XIV, also of Transactions, has reached page 68. Good progress has been made on Volume II, which, as the

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Society will remember, is a volume of Collections, containing the Royal Commissions; while another volume of Collections, which is to contain the early records of Harvard College, is already in type and has been cast. Work has also been begun on still a third volume of Collections which will contain a continuation of the records of the Corporation of Harvard College.

The Publications of the Society are enjoying a steady and gradually increasing sale, which is a gratifying testimonial to their permanent value. The Society is sorely handicapped in this most essential department of its work by a lack of funds. It is exceedingly tantalizing to the Council to be obliged to resign itself to our present financial limitations when we know that an addition of $50,000 to the Publication Fund would enable us to do very nearly, if not quite, all that ought to be done.

The Council feels that one of the most urgent needs of the Society, next to its Publication Fund, is an Editor's Salary Fund of at least $75,000, by which it will be enabled to assure to its Editor of Publications a salary more in keeping with the value and dignity of his work.

It will be observed from the foregoing that the Society is in an exceedingly healthful condition, facing as it does an opportunity of service far greater than it can cultivate. Its only drawbacks are of a material or financial nature and these it confidently looks to have removed in the course of time by the generosity and trust of its members. So long as there is work for us to do, we may congratulate ourselves upon our existence and may rest assured that the means for the completion of this work will be forthcoming. And so it is with real satisfaction that the Council calls the attention of the Society to the fact that its fields of usefulness have grown steadily broader and richer during the past months.

The TREASURER submitted his Annual Report as follows:

REPORT OF THE TREASURER

In compliance with the requirements of the By-Laws, the Treasurer submits his Annual Report for the year ending 17 November, 1911.

By the provisions of the will of our late associate James Lyman Whitney this Society will eventually receive a bequest of money which is subject to certain life estates.

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CASH ACCOUNT

RECEIPTS

Balance, 15 November, 1910		$756.29
Admission Fees	$80.00	
Annual Assessments	530.00	
Commutation of the Annual Dues	900.00	
Sales of the Society's Publications	166.87	
Sales of the Society's paper	71.71	
Contributions from five members	877.92	
Interest	2,841.13	
Editor's Salary Fund, subscriptions	900.00	
Mortgages discharged or assigned	4,300.00	
Charlestown Five Cents Savings Bank, withdrawn for investment	320.00	
Henry H. Edes, temporary loan	100.00	11,087.63
		$11,843.92

DISBURSEMENTS

The University Press, printing	$1,625.11	
A. W. Elson & Co., photogravure plates, negatives, and plate printing	1,318.73	
Clerk hire	81.25	
Postage, stationery, and supplies	55.35	
Boston Storage Warehouse Co.	24.50	
William H. Hart, auditing	5.00	
Folsom & Sunergren Co., relief plates	15.00	
C. W. Phillips, distributing Publications	38.60	
Albert Matthews, salary as Editor of Publications	1,000.00	
Mary H. Rollins, indexing	100.00	
Lucy Drucker, services in London at the Public Record Office	39.98	
Corinne Babcock, copying Harvard College Library Catalogue of 1723	38.00	
Carnegie Institution, subscription for 1910 towards Bibliography of American Historical Writings	50.00	
S. D. Warren & Co., paper with the Society's water-mark, and dandy roll	524.79	
Miscellaneous incidentals	498.25	
Mortgages on improved real estate in Boston	5,500.00	
Interest in adjustment	49.06	
Deposited in Charlestown Five Cents Savings Bank	20.00	
Deposited in Provident Institution for Savings	100.00	
Henry H. Edes, temporary loan without interest, paid	100.00	$11,183.62
Balance on deposit in State Street Trust Company, 17 November, 1911		660.30
		$11,843.92

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The Funds of the Society are invested as follows:

$55,300.00	in First Mortgages, payable in gold coin, on improved property in Boston, Cambridge, and Brookline
100.00	deposited in the Provident Institution for Savings in the Town of Boston
$55,400.00	

TRIAL BALANCE

DEBITS

Cash		$660.30
Mortgages	$55,300.00	
Provident Institution for Savings	100.00	55,400.00
		$56,060.30

CREDITS

Income		$660.30
Editor's Salary Fund	$300.00	
Publication Fund	5,100.00	
General Fund	10,000.00	
Benjamin Apthorp Gould Memorial Fund	10,000.00	
Edward Wheelwright Fund	10,000.00	
Robert Charles Billings Fund	10,000.00	
Robert Noxon Toppan Fund	5,000.00	
Robert Charles Winthrop, Jr., Fund	3,000.00	
Andrew McFarland Davis Fund	2,000.00	55,400.00
		$56,060.30

HENRY H. EDES,
Treasurer

BOSTON, 17 November, 1911

REPORT OF THE AUDITING COMMITTEE

The undersigned, a Committee appointed to examine the accounts of the Treasurer for the year ending 17 November, 1911, have attended to that duty and report that they find them correctly kept and properly vouched, and that proper evidence of the investments and of the balance of cash on hand has been shown to us. This examination is based on the Report of Andrew Stewart, Certified Public Accountant.

E. P. MERRITT,
M. A. DE WOLFE HOWE,
Committee

BOSTON, 20 November, 1911.

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The several Reports were accepted and referred to the Committee of Publication.

On behalf of the Committee appointed to nominate officers for the ensuing year, the Rev. HENRY A. PARKER presented the following list; and, a ballot having been taken, these gentlemen were unanimously elected:

PRESIDENT

HENRY LEFAVOUR

VICE-PRESIDENTS

WILLIAM WATSON GOODWIN
MARCUS PERRIN KNOWLTON

RECORDING SECRETARY

HENRY WINCHESTER CUNNINGHAM

CORRESPONDING SECRETARY

CHARLES EDWARDS PARK

TREASURER

HENRY HERBERT EDES

REGISTRAR

FREDERICK LEWIS GAY

MEMBER OF THE COUNCIL FOR THREE YEARS

HORACE EVERETT WARE

On behalf of Mr. SAMUEL SWETT GREEN, Mr. Henry H. Edes communicated a Memoir of CHARLES HENRY DAVIS, which Mr. Green had been requested to prepare for publication in the Transactions.

After the meeting was dissolved, dinner was served. The guests of the Society were the Rev. James De Normandie, the Rev. Henry Wilder Foote, and Messrs. Melville Madison Bigelow, Charles Saunders Brigham, Francis Henshaw

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Dewey, Chester Noyes Greenough, Roger Bigelow Merriman, Samuel Eliot Morison, Grenville Howland Norcross, Fred Norris Robinson, Edgar Huidekoper Wells, Samuel Williston, Frederic Winthrop, and Roger Wolcott. The PRESIDENT presided.

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MEMOIR

OF

CHARLES HENRY DAVIS, A.B.

BY

SAMUEL SWETT GREEN

CHARLES HENRY DAVIS was born in Worcester, Massachusetts, March 24, 1832. He was the son of the Hon. Isaac and Mary Holman (Estabrook) Davis. After attending preparatory schools, he entered Waterville College, now called Colby University, from which institution he graduated in 1853.

In April, 1861, he became sergeant major of the 25th Massachusetts Regiment, U. S. V. He was soon advanced to the position of a commissioned officer and assigned to the commissary department. His ability and faithfulness were such that he was promoted to the rank of captain, afterwards breveted major, and retired at the close of the Civil War, October, 1865, with the title of Brevet Lieutenant-Colonel. While naturally proud of having rendered valued service to the country, Mr. Davis was reluctant to speak of the service and disliked to be addressed by his military title.

Soon after the end of the war, he married Miss Adelaide Goodwin of Philadelphia, and after living for a time in New York and Philadelphia returned to Worcester, where he spent the rest of his life. Mrs. Davis died April 2, 1899. There were no children.

Mr. Davis led a life of leisure after his army experience and to persons who did not know him appeared inactive, but he was a quietly busy man. He had marked mechanical skill and spent much time in working as an amateur in the well equipped shop which he fitted up in one of the upper stories of his house. He had, too, a natural, although uncultivated, power of sketching and painting and was often occupied in the use of pen, pencil or brush.

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He was a man of fine taste and as a member of the Worcester Art Society worked assiduously in preparing for the exhibitions of that organization. He was a corporator of the Worcester Art Museum, contributing liberally towards the cost of erecting its building, and left it in his will a picture which he justly highly prized.

Mr. Davis enjoyed out-of-door life and nearness to nature. His mind was very receptive as he sat seemingly idle, engaging in no sports, on the piazza of the Country Club, watching the movements of birds going in and out of bird-houses which he had caused to be built. He and Mrs. Davis and the writer went to Havana together. We were in a hotel that faced a park temporarily used as a market and Mr. Davis's way of seeing the city was to sit in front of the building and take in with passive demeanor but active mind the passing procession of varied humanity carrying in and out of the market the products of Cuba.

Mr. Davis was not deeply tinctured with historical interests, although he eagerly followed up relationships and genealogies of friends and acquaintances, especially towards the close of his life. He also gave a generous sum of money to aid in increasing the funds of the American Antiquarian Society.

Mr. Davis took a great interest in the work of the Worcester County Musical Association. Although not a musician or singer himself, he was fond of music and appreciated good music. He was especially moved by the chorus. During his life he gave the Association $5,000 and bequeathed to it in his will $25,000 in recognition of the excellence of its work and with the purpose of assuring to the chorus frequent rehearsals and training by the best instructors.

Mr. Davis also left by will $25,000 to the Country Club in recognition of the enjoyment which he had found in frequent drives to it to breathe the pure air to be had there, and, as stated before, to gratify his love for nature.

Mr. Davis was a man of unusual refinement and had a true sense of the fitness of things. Although little observant of the forms of religion, he was always reverent.

He had a remarkable sense of humor and his droll sayings irresistibly awakened ripples of enjoyment. He was delightfully companionable.

He went frequently to Rye Beach where the older habitués of

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the Farragut all remembered him and some of them kept up correspondence with him until the end of his life.

He was a member of the Worcester Club and of the Massachusetts Commandery, Military Order of the Loyal Legion. He was elected a Resident Member of this Society February 21, 1894.

Mr. Davis died in Worcester July 24, 1910.

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DECEMBER MEETING, 1911

A STATED MEETING of the Society was held at No. 25 Beacon Street, Boston, on Thursday, 28 December, 1911, at three o'clock in the afternoon, the Hon. JOHN ADAMS AIKEN, LL.D., in the chair.

The Records of the Annual Meeting were read and approved.

The CORRESPONDING SECRETARY reported that a letter had been received from Mr. MELVILLE MADISON BIGELOW accepting Resident Membership.

Mr. CLARENCE SAUNDERS BRIGHAM of Worcester, and Mr. ARTHUR FAIRBANKS of Cambridge, were elected Resident Members; and Mr. EDWARD VANDERHOOF BIRD of Assuan, Egypt, was elected a Corresponding Member.

Mr. ALBERT MATTHEWS exhibited, through the courtesy of Dr. Edward Breck of Boston, photographs of an ancient arm-chair[1] which had been brought from Lancashire, England, to Dorchester, Massachusetts, in 1635 by Edward Breck[2] and which is still in the possession of the family.[3]

On behalf of Mr. GEORGE L. KITTREDGE, Mr. Henry H. Edes presented an abstract of the following paper:

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[1] The chair is a fine example of the Jacobean wainscot style, made of oak, and stands 44 inches high at the back, with a seat 16½ inches from the floor and 24½ inches wide. The panel at the back has been renewed, and the seat, which originally contained a drawer opening at the right side, has been repaired. The original owner's initials are carved at the top.

[2] For a sketch of Edward Breck of Dorchester, see pp. 49–52, above.

[3] The pedigree of the chair is as follows: Edward Breck (died 1662); his son Capt. John Breck; his son the Rev. Robert Breck of Marlborough; his daughter Sarah Breck, the wife of Dr. Benjamin Gott of Marlborough; their daughter Anna Gott, the wife of Samuel Brigham; their daughter Anna Brigham, the wife of Isaac Davis of Northborough; his son Joseph Davis; his son George Clinton Davis; and his daughter Miss Mary Louise Davis, the present owner, formerly of Northborough, now of Troy, New York. For Dr. Benjamin Gott, see the Publications of this Society, xii. 214–219.

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COTTON MATHER'S ELECTION INTO THE ROYAL SOCIETY

When a Boston preacher who died almost two hundred years ago can still divide our local republic of letters into hostile camps at a moment's notice, the presumption is that he amounted to something. Such a man is Cotton Mather. The burning questions that fired his contemporaries might be supposed to be extinguished by this time; but whoever pokes among the ashes will soon discover the *semina ignis*, quite ready to flare up. For my own part, I am neither pro-Mather nor anti-Mather, and my purpose in resuscitating the debate about the Doctor's title of F. R. S., which began in his own day, is to administer an irenicon. To this end, I shall produce two fresh pieces of evidence which seem to have eluded investigation. They are positive, direct, trustworthy, indubitable. They prove conclusively that Cotton Mather was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society, and they fix the day, and almost the hour, of the event. Before reciting them, however, I must review the whole case.

In November, 1712, Cotton Mather composed a series of thirteen letters on the Natural History of New England and kindred topics. Seven of them were addressed to John Woodward, M. D., F. R. S., Professor of Physic at Gresham College, and six to Richard Waller, Esq., Secretary of the Royal Society. All were intended as communications to that learned body.[1]

Excerpts from these letters were printed in 1714 in No. 339 of the Philosophical Transactions, — the number designated as "for the Months of April, May and June."[2] The excerpts were, of course,

[1] The first letter of the series is dated November 17, 1712; the last, November 29. Our associate, Mr. Frederick Lewis Gay, has copies of these letters and of many others which Cotton Mather addressed to the Royal Society, — of all, in fact, that are preserved in the MS. Letter-Book of the Society. I am deeply grateful to him for lending me these copies and for allowing me to print such extracts as I may desire. I shall cite the transcripts as the "Gay MS."

The original draughts of many of Mather's letters to the Royal Society or its members are in the possession of the Massachusetts Historical Society and the American Antiquarian Society. I am obliged to our associate, Mr. Worthington C. Ford, for calling my attention to these manuscripts, which I shall cite as *M. H. S.* and *A. A. S.* respectively. Neither society has draughts of the series of 1712. There appear to be copies of this series in Sloane MS. 3339.

[2] No. 339 of the Philosophical Transactions has the colophon, "*London*,

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of a highly miscellaneous character. They deal with fossil teeth and bones (believed to be the remains of an antediluvian giant),[1] with plants and birds, with antipathies and the force of the imagination, with the American Indians, with rainbows and sundogs, with the strange discovery of a murder by a dream, with the rattlesnake, with earthquakes and thunder, with pits in the rocks at Amoskeag "a little above the hideous Falls" of the Merrimac, with longevity and the multiplication of the human race, and with the mysterious figures engraved on Dighton Rock. It is easy to make fun of these jottings, which, indeed, are commonly held to betray an abnormal credulity. I have no wish to enter the lists in championship of Cotton Mather as a man of science. Still, an error is no less an error when it has come to be a tiresome fashion. Mather may or may not have been exceptionally credulous. Such a charge, at all events, gets no support from these *Curiosa* and others like them. For they are precisely the kind of thing that naturalists were noting and publishing at that time, in England and on the Continent, and most of them were really worth noting. It is a pity that we do not study the history of science a little, before we pitch upon an individual as a scapegoat for his age. If we would only look abroad oftener, we might find the intellectual life of Massachusetts in Mather's period less barren, less glacial, than we do. The significant thing is, not that Mather thought the venom of a rattlesnake would decompose the steel edge of a broadaxe, but that his *Curiosa* were not out of place in the Philosophical Transactions, and would not have been out of place in the Acta Eruditorum of Leipzig or the Ephemerides of the Leopoldina. Even the story of the murder revealed in a dream was respectfully treated by the English savants. "The Relation" — such is the editor's comment — "seems to be well attested," [2] and

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Printed for W. INNYS, at the *Princes'-Arms* in St. *Paul's Church-yard*. 1714." It was afterwards assembled with other numbers to make up "Vol. XXIX. For the Years 1714, 1715, 1716," which was issued as a whole in 1717. The excerpts are on pp. 62–71. They bear the title, "*An Extract of several Letters from* Cotton Mather, *D. D. to* John Woodward, *M. D. and* Richard Waller, *Esq;* S. R. Secr." The Letter-Book of the Royal Society (M. 2. 34) contains this article (as printed in the Transactions) in MS., prepared for the press (Gay MS., fols. 151–168).

[1] See Lord Cornbury's letter, quoted by C. R. Weld, History of the Royal Society, i. 421 (cf. Sloane MS. 4064, fols. 86, 93).

[2] Philosophical Transactions, xxix. 67.

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the editor was no less a personage than the great astronomer Halley. In fact, it is just such an incident as psychologists now register with anxious care, and study with trembling hope. Ralph Thoresby, the historian of Leeds, believed devoutly in apparitions and in witchcraft, and he was an F. R. S. and voted for Cotton Mather — but I must not anticipate.

It is sometimes assumed that Mather sent these scientific papers to the Royal Society "solely and merely of his own spontaneous motion." This is a mistake. The first letter of the series settles the matter. It is addressed to Dr. John Woodward, and begins:

S^r^,

Your excellent *Essay towards the Natural History of the Earth*, has obliged and even commanded, ye true Friends of *Religion*, and *Philosophy*, to serve you with as many Communications as they can, that may be subservient unto your noble Intention. But the *Letters* wherewith you have honoured me, have laid *me* under your more particular commands, to supply you with such *subterraneous curiosities*, as may have been in these parts of *America* mett withal. I do with much Alacrity apply myself immediately to obey your Commands, in one Remarkable Instance, wherein I apprehend myself best able to do it." [1]

Woodward was particularly interested in palæontology, and was always eager for fossils [2] or for information about them. It was

[1] Mather to Woodward, Nov. 17, 1712, Gay MS., fol. 1 (from Royal Society Letter-Book M. 2. 21).

[2] In July, 1716, Mather thanks Dr. Woodward for a "most acceptable present" (namely, "your *Defence* of your *Natural History of the Earth*") and remarks: "I am overwhelmed with some Confusion, that I have not all this time yeelded a due Obedience to ye Commands you laid upon me, to make a Collection of o^r^ Fossils. . . . But I am forming ye best Projection I can, in an Infant Countrey, entirely destitute of Philosophers, to have this, and other Intentions answered" (M. H. S.). On July 24, 1716, he sends Woodward, with further apologies, a piece of limestone from Sir William Phips's famous treasure ship (M. H. S.). On October 15, 1716, Mather sends to John Winthrop (H. C. 1700) "a Book of my honour'd Dr *Woodwards*," adding: "But how oblig'd would both he and I be, if Your Inquisitive Ingenuity employing the Liesure of a Gentleman of Erudition (which you are) for that purpose, would make as full a Collection as may be of the Fossils; (the Names written on each little Bundle:) to be in *Your Name*, transmitted unto him" (4 Massachusetts Historical Collections, viii. 419). Winthrop replies on November 5, 1716: "I shall doe my indeavo^r^ to answer both yo^rs^ & Dr Woodwards requests in making a collection of ye fossils of o^r^ country for Gresham Colledge . . . and as to ye utensills of ye Pagans, perhaps I may

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natural that he should apply to the most learned man in New England for such information in the American field, and it was equally natural that he should suggest (as he appears to have done) that he should like to lay before the Royal Society the communications that Mather might favor him with.

How cordially the Royal Society welcomed Cotton Mather's correspondence, may be seen in the following extract from their MS. Journal, July 23, 1713:

A letter drawn up by Mr. Waller for Mr. Cotton Mather at Boston in New England was read ; giving an account of the receipt of his letter and his manuscript, containing his several observations on Natural subjects, with an invitation to a future correspondence; which was ordered to be sent.

Mr. Waller proposed the same gentleman as a candidate, according to his desire mentioned in his said letter; which was referred to the next Council.[1]

The statement that Waller nominated Mather "according to his desire mentioned in his letter" must not be taken (as it usually is[2]) to indicate that Mather in effect nominated himself. It indicates merely that Waller had ascertained what it was incumbent upon him

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grattefye ye doctors curiosity in some of their originall instruments, ancient notions & traditions, &c., which I have lately learn't & received among them" (6 Collections, v. 332–333). On July 25, 1717, Mather writes to Woodward that Winthrop has promised his assistance, "and as a Specimen of more to follow, he enables me now . . . to transmit unto you a Box, which contains between Twenty and Thirty of such Things as you have asked for" (M. H. S.). On January 13, 1720, Winthrop sent Mather "a Small Box directed to Dr Woodward;" but Mather did not receive the accompanying letter until May 2, and the box had not come to hand by May 9 (4 Massachusetts Historical Collections, viii. 438). On April 3, 1721, Woodward writes to Winthrop, thanking him for shells, and asking for fossils and Indian bones and utensils, and to Mather begging him to be "more inquisitive" in seeking fossils (1 Massachusetts Historical Proceedings, xiii. 110–111). In the same month, Winthrop writes to Mather: "I am making an other sett of rarities and curiositys for the Royall Society, wch I am thinking to present wth my owne hands" (6 Collections, v. 399 note).

[1] N. Darnell Davis, Was Cotton Mather a Fellow of the Royal Society? (The Nation, New York, February 18, 1892, liv. 128; New England Historical and Genealogical Register, xlvi. 116.)

[2] By Dr. Slafter, for example, whose account of the matter runs thus: — "Dr. Cotton Mather, it seems, as early as 1713, sent a communication to the society, containing observations on 'Natural Subjects,' with a desire clearly expressed that he might be made a member" (John Checkley, Prince Society, 1897, i. 41).

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to learn before nominating *anybody* — namely, the willingness of the person in question. For the Statutes of the Royal Society expressly provided that one who propounds a person for election into the fellowship "shall satisfy the company, that he hath informed [him of certain obligations], and that hereupon it is the desire of the said person to be of the Society." [1]

The next meeting of the Council took place only four days later, on July 27, 1713, and their Minutes record, on that date, that "Mr. Cotton Mather was proposed, balloted for, and approved to be a Member of the Society." [2]

Secretary Waller's official letter, acknowledging the receipt of Mather's manuscript and inviting him to continue his correspondence, was received by Mather on October 12, 1713. This was the missive that had been approved by the Society on July 23. Along with it, we must believe, came a private letter from Waller, informing him of the action of the Council and assuring him of a speedy election by the Society as a whole, — for Waller doubtless felt sure that the favorable action of the Council had made the result a foregone conclusion. These two letters are referred to as follows in Mather's Diary under that date:

12d. 8m. This Day, in Ships arriving from London, I receive Letters from the Secretary of the Royal Society, who tells me, That my *Curiosa Americana* being Readd before that Society, they were greatly Satisfied therewith, and ordered the Thanks of the Society to be returned unto me; They also Signified their Desire and purpose to Admitt me as a Member of their Body. And, he assures me, that at their first lawful Meeting for such purposes, I shall be made A FELLOW OF THE ROYAL SOCIETY.[3]

Mather sent Waller a witty and graceful reply, which I am permitted to print, for the first time, from the original draught in the possession of the Massachusetts Historical Society.[4]

[1] Chapter vi, sect. 2 (Diplomata et Statuta Regalis Societatis, 1752, pp. 82–83). The Statute was "made in 1663." It is to be inferred that Woodward, in requesting Mather for contributions, asked him if he should like to be proposed for membership, and that Mather, in a personal letter (not known to be extant), enclosing the series of thirteen formal letters, replied with a grateful affirmative. At all events, there is no evidence, and no probability, that Mather nominated himself. [2] Davis, Register, as above, xlvi. 117.

[3] As quoted by Wendell, Cotton Mather, p. 244.

[4] The draught is undated, but, in the manuscript volume which contains it,

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[Separate Letter.] [1]

S^r^

An Honour too great for me to have hoped for, the Letters wherew^th^ you have lately favoured me, have allow'd me some hope of my arriving to. [2]The Academy of y^e^ *Nascosti*, at *Milain*; that of y^e^ *Innominati*, in *Parma*; and that of y^e^ *Incogniti*, in *Venice*, would by their Titles, have been more fitt for so obscure a person, than a room among your honourable *Virtuosi*.[2]

I have nothing to render me worthy of a Relation to so Illustrious a Society, as that whereto you have done me the Honour of proposing my Admission as a Member, except it be my vast Veneration for the Persons that compose it, and my firm Resolution, to have annually as long as I may live, contributed unto its Treasures, by my best (tho' mean) Cōmunications, altho' I should never have been in this way obliged unto it.

[3] And now you give me a Prospect of reaching to such a Dignity, there will be some Addition to my Assiduities, as well as my Capacities, that if I be not one of the *Ardenti*, which they tell me, is a Title worn by one of ye Academies at *Naples*, yett I will not be one of y^e^ *Otiosi*; w^ch^, they say, is a Title worn by another of y^m^.

I first render my most humble & hearty Thanks unto you, for doing ye Part of a Patron on my behalf, in the Recōmendation you have been pleased to give me: And I assure myself, that an affayr, which will so much strengthen my Opportunities to render myself a Master of what may be found useful & proper to be transmitted from these parts of ye World, under such a Management as yours, cannot miss of being brought unto Perfection.

I must further pray you to be my Instructor, (for, S^r^, you must imagine that you have now a sort of a tame Indian under your Tuition,) what the Rules of my Relation will oblige me to observe, in ye point of

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it follows immediately after the draught of another letter to Waller, entitled by Mather "A Woollen Snow" and intended as a communication to the Society. This letter about the strange fall of wool in a snowstorm, bears date "Dec. 1. 1713," and the private letter of thanks to Waller (which I am reproducing) is headed, in Mather's hand, "[Separate Letter.]." In printing the letter, I take no notice of cancelled words.

[1] The heading (including the brackets) is in Mather's hand.

[2] The passage beginning with "The Academy" and ending with "*Virtuosi*" is in the margin, and the place where it was to be inserted is indicated by two carets in the text.

[3] This paragraph is written in the margin, and the place where it was to be inserted is indicated by three carets in the body of the letter.

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those little pecuniary Expences, wth which I am to consider ye Treasurer of the Society.

Your Instruction, which my Ig[norance] [1] at so long a Distance from you, rende[rs necessary] for me, will in this, & in ever[y thing] else be complied withal, by, S^r^,

Your most obliged Fr[iend] [2]

The next document in the case is a letter from Secretary Waller to Cotton Mather. It is not preserved, so far as I know, but we have Samuel Mather's account of it, with an all-important extract:

'Twas in the Year 1714. he received a Letter from the Secretary of the *Royal Society*, [Richard Waller, Esq;] [3] dated *Decemb.* 4. 1713. in which are these Words; *As for your being chosen a Member of the Royal Society, that has been done both by the Council and Body of the Society: only the Ceremony of an Admission is wanting; which, you being beyond Sea, cannot be performed.*[4]

When did Cotton Mather receive this momentous letter from Mr. Secretary Waller? The question can be answered with exactness enough for the purposes of our investigation. *The letter certainly reached him before July 2, 1714, and in all probability before March 30.*[5] The importance of thus approximating the date will appear presently.

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[1] The lower right-hand corner of the leaf is torn off. The words and letters in brackets are conjectural.

[2] No signature.

[3] The brackets are Samuel Mather's.

[4] Samuel Mather, Life of Cotton Mather, 1729, p. 77. Whether Samuel Mather is quoting from the original or from his father's Diary we cannot tell, for the Diary of 1714 is extant only for January and part of February.

[5] On March 30, 1714, Mather asks John Winthrop (H. C. 1700) for a description of the Connecticut moose, since he is "shortly writing for *London*, unto, you know who" (4 Massachusetts Historical Collections, viii. 417). *You know who* is doubtless Waller, for a letter from Mather to him (dated June 21, 1714) consists entirely of notes on the moose. It begins with an expression of satisfaction at learning of Waller's good health, "which," writes Mather, "has been demonstrated in your particular Enquiries, after the MOOSE in our Countrey" (Royal Society Letter-Book, M. 2. 35; Gay MS., fol. 169). These inquiries were, in all likelihood, contained in Waller's letter of December 4, 1713, which must therefore have come into Mather's hands before the latter wrote to Winthrop on March 30, 1714.

On July 2, 1714, Mather writes again to Winthrop, remarking: — "I enclose a large Letter from one of the Secretaries of the Royal Society; which you will

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To understand Waller's letter, we must have recourse to the Statutes of the Society ("made in 1663" and in force during the whole period that concerns us in this inquiry), as well as to its Second Charter (also of 1663).[1] The Statutes provide that a candidate for fellowship shall be voted on (by ballot) at some meeting subsequent to that at which he is nominated,[2] and the Charter prescribes a two-thirds vote.[3] Reference of nominations to the Council was not required, either by Charter or by Statute, but it seems to have been customary, and it certainly took place in the present instance. Further requirements of the Statutes are that "every person elected a Fellow" shall "subscribe the obligation" to do his duty by the Society,[4] and that he shall go through the ceremony of admission. The sections defining admission are as follows:

V. Every person, elected a Fellow, shall appear for his Admission at some ordinary meeting of the Society, which shall be within four weeks

please to return unto me, by a safe Conveyance" (4 Collections, viii. 419). This large letter was, of course, the letter from Waller, dated December 4, 1713, which Samuel Mather quotes.

Either of the two limits thus fixed (March 30, 1714, or July 2) is near enough for our purpose. The earlier date, however, is much the more probable.

I am tempted to finish the story of the Moose, which is rather curious. Mather's letter to Waller concerning that animal (June 21, 1714), preserved in the Letter-Book of the Royal Society (M. 2. 35), is endorsed: "Mather: read Oct: 28. 1714. Enter'd L. B. 15. 47. Phil. Trans." This memorandum shows that it was read at a meeting of the Society, and indicates that it was to be published in the Philosophical Transactions. This, however, was not done, and in July, 1716, Mather recopied the little essay, and entrusted it (with other communications for the Society) to Samuel Woodward (Secretary of the Province), who was on the point of setting out for London (M. H. S.). Even then the article failed of publication, and it was reserved for Paul Dudley to enrich the Philosophical Transactions with a description of the moose. His account was communicated to the Society by John Chamberlayne, and may be found in No. 368 (for May–August, 1721, xxxi. 165–168), printed in 1722 or 1723. It was supplemented by a paper from Samuel Dale in No. 444 (xxxix. 384–389).

[1] Diplomata et Statuta Regalis Societatis Londini . . . Jussu Praesidis et Concilii edita, 1752. The copy in the Harvard College Library was given by Thomas Hollis in June, 1765, and contains a characteristic inscription in his beautiful handwriting: — "Liber Thomae Hollis, Angli, Hospitii Lincolniensis, Regalis et Antiquariorum Societatum Sodalis; libertatis, patriae, praestantisque ejus constitutionis laudatissime anno 1688 recuperatae amatoris studiosissimi."

[2] Chap. vi., sects. 1, 4 (pp. 82–83).

[3] Diplomata et Statuta, p. 28.

[4] Chap. ii (pp. 76–77). There is also a requirement as to fees (chap. iii, pp. 77–79), but this is of no importance in the present inquiry.

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after his Election; or within such further time, as shall be granted by the Society or Council, upon cause shewed to either of them. Otherwise his Election shall be void.

VI. The Admission of any Fellow of the Society shall be at some meeting thereof, in manner and form following: The President, taking him by the hand, shall say these words,

I do by the authority, and in the name of the Royal Society of London for improving natural knowledge, *admit you a Fellow thereof.*[1]

These rules explain Waller's words in his letter of December 4, 1713, quoted by Samuel Mather: — "Only the Ceremony of an Admission is wanting; which, you being beyond Sea, cannot be performed." This ceremony, we have seen, had to take place within four weeks of a candidate's election (otherwise the election was void); but the time could be extended indefinitely, for cause, either by the Society or by the Council. In Mather's case, such an extension, if not expressly mentioned at the time, must have been taken for granted by everybody concerned; for he could not even learn of his election until the regular limit had expired.

Everything now seemed to be in good order. Mather had been officially notified by the Secretary that he had been elected a Fellow of the Royal Society in the regular way. Whenever he should go to London, it would be incumbent on him to present himself for formal "admission," to sign the pledge of fidelity, and to receive the right-hand of fellowship. He would then become an F. R. S. in the fullest legal and technical sense of the term. Meanwhile, he felt justified in appending these honorable letters to his name. He did so immediately, on the title-page of The Glorious Throne,[2] a sermon delivered on September 23, 1714, and published that year, and he continued the practice, on fitting occasions, as long as he lived.

We now see the importance of fixing approximately (as we have already done) the date on which Mather received Waller's notice of election.[3] And we observe that it makes no difference whether we choose March 30 or July 2, 1714, as the *terminus ad quem;* for The

[1] Chap. vi., sects. 5–6 (p. 83).

[2] Sibley, No. 262. Mr. George Parker Winship, Mr. Clarence S. Brigham, and Mr. Albert Matthews have helped me to determine the earliest publication in which Mather styled himself F. R. S.

[3] See p. 87, above.

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Glorious Throne was not published before September 29.[1] Mather did not presume on Waller's assurance (received in 1713)[2] that he was *going to be elected:* he waited, as was proper, until the Secretary had informed him that the election was an accomplished fact.

It is impossible to see how Mather can be blamed for using the title of F. R. S., even if he had nothing to go on except Waller's letter of December 4, 1713; for it was inconceivable that there should have been any mistake: Waller was not only the Secretary, but he was the person who had nominated Mather. But Waller was by no means his only voucher. He received assurances of a similar tenor from Dr. Woodward. This appears from an important letter, dated May 21, 1723, from Mather to Dr. James Jurin,[3] Secretary of the Society, printed by Mr. N. Darnell Davis in 1892.[4] In this document, to which we shall have occasion to recur, Mather tells of communicating to Waller and Woodward "a great number of American and Philosophical Curiosities" (evidently the *Curiosa*, the thirteen letters written in November, 1712, and excerpted in the Philosophical Transactions in 1714), and adds:

These Gentlemen putt the, as Unexpected as Undeserved Respect upon[5] me, of proposing me for a Member of the *Royal Society*; and they both Wrote unto me, That I was chosen accordingly both by the Council

[1] The verso of the title-page has the following certification: — "Published by Order of His Excellency the Governour & Council. Isaac Addington, Secr. Boston: Sept. 29th. 1714."

[2] See p. 85, above.

[3] Born 1684, M. D. 1716, F. R. S. 1717 or 1718, Secretary from November 30, 1721, to Nov. 30, 1727, died 1750 (Weld, History of the Royal Society, i. 435 note 1, ii. 561; Dictionary of National Biography, xxx. 229–230).

[4] The Nation, New York, February 18, 1892, liv. 127–128 (republished in the New England Historical and Genealogical Register, xlvi. 115–116, and by Slafter, John Checkley, Prince Society, 1897, i. 41–44). I use the transcript in the Gay MS., fols. 173–178. The original is preserved in the Letter-Book of the Royal Society, M. 2. 36.

[5] To *put upon*, in those days, meant either to "confer upon" or to "inflict upon," according to the context. "Unexpected" requires a note, for it is easily misunderstood, and every word that Mather wrote is likely to encounter hostile scrutiny. The adjective applies, not to Waller's nomination of Mather on July 23, 1713 (for that was not unexpected, nor, under the Statutes, could it be unexpected: see p. 85, above). What Mather means is that the first suggestion that he should allow himself to be proposed as a candidate came as a surprise to him — and this is probably true (see p. 84), for it was an honor never yet conferred upon a born American.

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and Body of the Society, on the Anniversary Day [1] for such elections, in the year 1713.[2] — Adding, that the only Reason of my not having my name in the *Printed List* of the *Society*, was because of my being beyond-Sea, and yett a Natural Born Subject, & so not capable of being inserted among the Gentlemen of other Nations.[3]

Nor was this all. In the Table of Contents in No. 339 of the Philosophical Transactions, issued in 1714, — the number that contains the excerpts from Mather's *Curiosa*, — there stand, in plain type, the words: "*An Extract of several Letters from* Cotton Mather, *D. D.* F. R. S.," [4] and of course this announcement remained when, in 1717, Nos. 338–350 were bound together and published as Volume XXIX. The Philosophical Transactions, though not actually issued, at this time, by the Royal Society, was universally understood to be its organ,[5] and the editor was the Secretary of the Society, the illustrious Halley.[6] "You[r] Secretary also," writes Mather to Jurin, "D[r] Halley, in the *Philosophical Transactions* of 1714 printed my

[1] This is probably not quite accurate, for the Statutes of 1663 provide that "no person shall be proposed, elected, or admitted a Fellow of the Society upon St. Andrew's day, or the day of the anniversary meeting for electing the Council and Officers" (Chap. vi., sect. 9; Diplomata et Statuta, 1752, p. 84). The inaccuracy, however, is of no moment, as we shall see presently.

[2] I do not know whether this letter from Woodward is extant or not. But we may be sure that Mather does not misrepresent its tenor. He and Woodward had long been on friendly terms, and they so continued as long as Mather lived. Mather hoped for favorable action from the Royal Society on the question broached in this letter to Jurin. There was every probability that Woodward would see the letter. It might even be read in the Society. And of course Mather was counting on Woodward's support in case there was opposition or difficulty. For him to alienate his champion by misrepresentations would have been suicidal.

[3] The annual Lists of the Royal Society each consisted of two parts, — British subjects and foreigners. Professor Carleton F. Brown has had the kindness to examine for me a file of these Lists (in the British Museum) for 1713–1730, and he informs me that Mather's name occurs in none of them.

[4] xxix. 51. True, in the title at the head of the article itself (p. 62), we have "Cotton Mather, *D. D.*," without the F. R. S., but this is balanced by the fact that Woodward, in the same title, is designated simply as "John Woodward, *M. D.*," also without the F. R. S., though he had been a Fellow for years.

[5] On this point see Weld, History of the Royal Society, i. 518–522.

[6] Richard Waller was Secretary from November 30, 1687, to November 30, 1709; and again from November 30, 1710, to November 30, 1714. Halley was Secretary from November 30, 1713, to November 30, 1721. Thus Halley's term began before Waller's second term expired. There are other instances of such overlapping. See Weld, ii. 561.

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Name, with an F. R. S. annexed unto it."[1] And he continues: "Mr. *Petiver* did the like, in his *Naturæ Collectanea*; And in his Letters to me, he had these Words, 'Your Election succeeded without opposition, and you were Elected after the usual Method of Balloting. The Reason of your being out of the *Printed List*, is your not being personally here, to subscribe to the Orders[2] that should be tendred you.'"

"Mr. Petiver" is James Petiver, F. R. S., the distinguished botanist and entomologist.[3] Mather sent him (on September 24, 1716) a few dried American plants,[4] with observations upon them and a personal letter.[5] In the letter, Mather adverts to the fact that his name has never appeared in the printed list of Fellows. His words are these:

In ye mean time, I shall not be altogether wanting in my Essayes to do ye best I can in Obedience to your Commands. And I hope, annually to treat ye Royal Society also with such a Number of Comunications, that if every Member of that Illustrious Body, whose Name stands in the Catalogue (an Honour not yett granted unto mine), will do but half as much, the Stores in your Collection will soon grow considerable.

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[1] Letter of May 21, 1723 (see p. 94, and note 4, above).

[2] This refers to the language of the Statute requiring every Fellow elect to "subscribe the Obligation." The pledge includes the words "we will observe the Statutes and Orders of the said Society" (Chap. ii., Diplomata et Statuta, 1752, p. 77).

[3] F. R. S. 1695, died 1718. See Dictionary of National Biography, xlv. 85–86. Cf. Thoresby's Diary, ii. 32, 147–148.

[4] This is the "*Hortus Siccus* of American plants" mentioned by Mather in a catalogue of his communications to the Royal Society enclosed in his letter to Jurin, May 21, 1723. Mr. Darnell Davis ignores this catalogue, but I have been able to consult it in the Gay MS. (fols. 178–181).

[5] Mather's draught of the letter and the observations is in M. H. S. The letter itself is among Petiver's papers in the British Museum (Sloane MS. 4065, fol. 255). It is marked "Rec^d^ ♂ Jan: 15. 171$\frac{4}{5}$." The sign ♂ stands for Tuesday. I am indebted to our Corresponding Member, Mr. Herbert Putnam, Librarian of Congress, for copies of Sloane MSS.

Mather is so often regarded as a pushing kind of person that it is worth while to remark that in this instance, as in the correspondence with Woodward which seems to have led to his nomination (see p. 83, above), he did not obtrude himself. Petiver wrote to him first. This appears from the opening sentence of Mather's letter: "Tis high time for me, to make some Return, that may expresse my sense of the obligations, which your Letters with what accompanied y^m^, have laid upon me."

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It was in reply to this observation, we may be certain, that Petiver assured Mather that the election had been perfectly regular, and that the omission of his name from the printed list was explained by inability to be "personally here, to subscribe to the Orders that should be tendred you." It is peculiarly significant, in view of Mather's letter, that when, in the very next year (1717), Petiver included in his Naturæ Collectanea a list of the plants which he had received from Mather, he took special pains to accord his American correspondent the title of Fellow of the Royal Society at full length by prefixing an acknowledgment as follows:

Some *American Plants*, with their *Specifick Vertues* and *Wonderful Effects*, lately sent me by the *Reverend* and learned Dr. *Cotton Mather*, at *Boston* in *New England*, and Fellow of the *Royal Society*, London.[1]

From 1714 to 1724 Mather was in active correspondence with the Royal Society and its members, and there is reason to believe that he was frequently addressed by such members as an F. R. S. Samuel Mather avers:

AFTER this[2] he had several Letters from many considerable Gentlemen of that Society, who always Superscribed their Letters to him as *F. R. S.* And he was assured by several of them, that he ought to affix *that* Title to his Name before his Works: otherwise he would never have done it. . . .

I have at this Time in my Hand, Letters to him from Mr. WALLER, Dr. CHAMBERLAIN, Dr. WOODWARD, Dr. JURIN, and others who give Dr. MATHER his Title, and express Concern some sordid People *here* will not allow it.[3]

I give the testimony of Samuel Mather for what it is worth, for I am well aware that whatever one member of this family says in behalf of any of his relatives is traditionally received, in this part of the world, with some caution. Still, it would be credulous incredulity to reject this evidence altogether, particularly since it accords, in its general purport, with what seems probable. Let me

[1] Petiveriana III, seu Naturæ Collectanea; Domi Forisque *Auctori* Communicata, London, 1717, p. 12, col. 2 (Harvard College Library).

[2] That is, after the receipt of Waller's letter of December 4, 1713, which Samuel Mather has just quoted.

[3] Life of Cotton Mather, 1729, p. 78.

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hasten to add that (for a reason which will appear later) we are here concerned with only such of these letters as were written before April 11, 1723, and that, in the absence of the letters themselves, we cannot be sure which of them preceded that date.[1] One of Chamberlayne's letters, however (of August 31, 1720), is fortunately quoted by Cotton Mather in a letter to John Winthrop (H. C. 1700), dated December 26, 1720. It is of much importance in settling the question whether Mather was or was not regarded at this time as an F. R. S. by the Fellows of that Society. Mather writes:

All the Return I have yett had of the Remittances I made the last *February* to the R. S.,[2] is an obliging Letter of Mr. *Chamberlain*,[3] Aug. 31, whose words are, "I thank you for your Noble Entertainment with which so many of my Friends were Regaled, before I could gett a Snap for myself, who hungerd & thirsted for it, that I had not the pleasure thereof till very lately, and indeed too late to communicate the same pleasure to your Illustrious Brethren, the Gentlemen of the R. S. who have always a long Recess at this time of the year."[4]

Chamberlayne's words "your Illustrious Brethren, the Gentlemen of the Royal Society" are certainly equivalent to calling Mather an F. R. S. The same turn of phrase is used by Mather himself in The Christian Philosopher, 1721, when (after describing himself on the

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[1] We know, however, that all of Waller's must have fallen within this limit, for he died before April 3, 1721 (see 1 Massachusetts Historical Proceedings, xiii. 111), — I think about 1715 (see p. 111 note 3, below). So of most of Chamberlayne's, for he died November 2, 1723 (Weld, History of the Royal Society, i. 414 note 29; Foster, Alumni Oxonienses, i. 257 b; Dictionary of National Biography, x. 9). That the letters from Jurin come later than May 21, 1723, is a natural (but uncertain) inference from the general tenor of Mather's letter to him of that date, and in particular from the way in which it begins.

[2] These "remittances" were twelve letters of Curiosa Americana to which Mather often refers in his correspondence with Winthrop (see 4 Massachusetts Historical Collections, viii. 435, 443, 448, 450, 452, 453, 455). They are enumerated in a catalogue enclosed in Mather's letter to Jurin, May 21, 1723 (Gay MS., fol. 180), but they appear to have perished. An unpublished letter from Mather to Henry Newman, February 17, 1720, sent with these communications and requesting him to hand them to Chamberlayne, is in the possession of the American Antiquarian Society. See p. 105 note 8, below.

[3] John Chamberlayne, born about 1666, F. R. S. 1702, died November 2, 1723 (Weld, History of the Royal Society, i. 414, n. 29; Foster, Alumni Oxonienses, i. 257 b; Dictionary of National Biography, x. 9).

[4] 4 Massachusetts Historical Collections, viii. 444.

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title-page as "Fellow of the Royal Society") he speaks of a certain F. R. S. as "my Brother."[1] It is particularly interesting, in view of Chamberlayne's language (just quoted) to observe that it was into the form of a letter to him that Mather put his tract entitled The World Alarm'd (1721), which is described on the title-page as "a Letter to an Honourable Fellow of the Royal Society at London. From a Member of the same Society, at Boston."[2]

We must frankly admit that, if Cotton Mather was (as he supposed) a properly elected F. R. S., there was nothing irregular, according to the practice of the Society itself, in his being adorned with those letters, even in default of the ceremony of "admission." The Rev. William Brattle, of Cambridge, was elected a Fellow on March 11, 1714,[3] and, so far as I know, his right to bear the title of F. R. S. (which stands after his name in the Harvard Quinquennial Catalogue) has not been questioned. Yet it is pretty clear that Brattle was never formally "admitted." He was in this country when his election took place,[4] and it seems quite certain that he did

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[1] P. 219.

[2] The tract is addressed "To J. C. Esq;" and the identity of J. C. with Chamberlayne is established by the two following passages: (1) "Had we yet Living and Shining among us, the Admirable *Nieuentyt*, who has by your Excellent Care and Exquisite Skill, become an Instructor of our Nation," etc. (p. 14); (2) "Were I Master of as many Languages, as were Employ'd by the Learned for the Celebration of the *Peyreskius*, whom you have in so many things made your Pattern: Yea, or of as many Languages as you have lately given us, in a Collection which will Immortalize your Name far more than so many Statues," etc. (p. 16). The first passage refers to Chamberlayne's translation of Bernard Nieuwentyt's Religious Philosopher, 1718–1719; the second to his publication of the Lord's Prayer in many languages (Oratio Dominica in diversas omnium fere gentium linguas versa, Amsterdam, 1715).

Mather himself describes the letter ("A Relation of a New Burning Island") as addressed "to M[r] Chamberlain" in the catalogue enclosed in his letter to Jurin, May 21, 1723 (Gay MS., fol. 180) and in a list of Curiosa in A. A. S. he designates "The World alarum'd, — with a New Burning Island" as a "L[etter] to M[r] Chamberlain."

The World Alarm'd is anonymous, but only formally so; for the author plainly identifies himself with "The Christian Philosopher" on the last page of the epistle (p. 16), and immediately facing that page is a list of books "To be Sold by Samuel Gerrish," the first of which is "The *Christian Philosopher* . . . By *Cotton Mather*, D. D. and Fellow of the Royal Society."

[3] Thomas Thomson, History of the Royal Society, 1812, Appendix, p. xxxiii; N. Darnell Davis, Register, xlvi. 117.

[4] He was present at a meeting of the President and Fellows of Harvard College

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not visit England between March 11, 1714, and February 15, 1717 (when he died [1]). Paul Dudley was elected a Fellow on November 2, 1721,[2] and his name occurs with the title F. R. S. several times in the Philosophical Transactions.[3] Dudley lived until 1751, and I cannot undertake to say that he never went to England in the interim. If so, however, nobody has recorded the fact. And, at any rate, I feel sure that (if he eventually *did* take the voyage) he had not done so before the Secretary had described him as F. R. S. in the Transactions at least half-a-dozen times. These examples are instructive with regard to the custom of the time in this matter.

It does not appear that anybody challenged Cotton Mather's right to style himself an F. R. S. until 1720, although in the interim (beginning, as we have observed, in 1714, immediately after the receipt of Secretary Waller's notification of his election) he had appended the letters to his name on several title-pages.[4] In this year, however, the question was raised by John Checkley in a very curious

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on March 16, 1713–14 (President Leverett's MS. Diary, Harvard College Library).

[1] On this day Sewall records his death, — "last night at midnight" (Diary, iii. 120).

[2] Thomson, as above, p. xxxv; J. T. Hassam, 2 Massachusetts Historical Proceedings, xvi. 35.

[3] Nos. 364 (xxxi. 27), 367 (xxxi. 145), 368 (xxxi. 165), 374 (xxxii. 231), 376 (xxxii. 292), 384 (xxxiii. 129), 385 (xxxiii. 194), 387 (xxxiii. 256), 398 (xxxiv. 261), 437 (xxxix. 63). In each case the letters are attached to Dudley's name in the title of one of his communications. In the last-cited instance, Dudley, in describing the earthquake of October 29, 1727, in a letter to the Secretary, dated "Roxbury, Nov. 13, 1727," makes use of the following language: "I think it my Duty, and hope it will be acceptable to the Society, to have the Particulars from one of their own Members."

[4] The Glorious Throne (1714) has already been mentioned (p. 89, above). The following volumes also append F. R. S. to Mather's name (there are doubtless others — I do not aim to be exhaustive): — Pascentius, Nuncia Bona e Terra Longinqua, Parentalia, Shaking Dispensations, The Religion of the Closet, 4th edition (all 1715); Fair Dealing, Life Swiftly Passing (1716); Hades Look'd Into, The Valley of Baca (1717); Concio ad Populum, Desiderius, Mirabilia Dei (1719); Undoubted Certainties (1720). In 1721 and 1722 I note the following books in which Mather lays claim to this honor: — The Christian Philosopher (probably published in 1720, though dated 1721); Genuine Christianity, India Christiana, A Vision in the Temple (1721). Coheleth (1720) and The Angel of Bethesda (1722) are described on the title-page as "by a Fellow of the Royal Society." For The World Alarm'd (1721), see p. 95 note 2, above.

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fashion. In 1719[1] Checkley had attacked Mather and Thomas Walter, Mather's nephew, in the preface to his Choice Dialogues.[2] Walter replied to the Dialogues in 1720. This reply was believed by Checkley to be "the joint Labours of the grand Committee" of ministers, "but taggd together by M[r] Walter and by him adorned with those many Billingsgate Flowers which have so delicately perfum'd the whole Piece."[3] Checkley also conceived himself to have been hardly used by the action of the Court of General Sessions in the matter of the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, and he ascribed his prosecution — not, I dare say, to Cotton Mather in particular but to the dominant party in general, among whom Mather was a leader. However exalted Checkley's motives may have been, he was quite as bigoted as any of his opponents, and there is no doubt that he was only too eager to discover weapons to use against Mather. Now Mather's name, as we have seen, was not appearing in the annual List of Fellows of the Royal Society. He had commented on the omission himself, in letters to some of the Fellows in England, and had received explanations which justified him in still styling himself F. R. S., particularly as his correspondents in the Society so addressed him. Whether Checkley had inspected one of the annual lists or not, we cannot tell. Probably he had. We know that the omission of Mather's name in them was public property in Boston as early as February, 1722, and Mather himself asserts, in a letter in which he mentions Checkley, that it was this omission that gave rise to the attack upon the genuineness of his title.[4] At any rate, Checkley knew (like everybody else) that Mather had styled himself F. R. S. on various title-pages, and he smelt imposture. Accordingly, on August 22, 1720, he wrote to Colonel Francis Nicholson, then in London, and begged him to ascertain the facts.[5] Nicholson, I fancy, "did not like the office" — to borrow Iago's phrase. Besides, the letter reached him when he was very busy. He had just

[1] The book bears no date. Dr. Slafter assigns it to 1719 or 1720 (John Checkley, Prince Society, 1897, i. 34, ii. 230). The latter is the latest possible date and is more probable than the former.

[2] Slafter, i. 145–148.

[3] Letter to the Rev. James McSparran, June 26, 1721 (Slafter, i. 154–155).

[4] See p. 100 note 2, below.

[5] Checkley's letter to Nicholson has not been found, but he mentions it, and gives the date, in his letter to Halley.

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been sworn (on September 27, 1720 [1]) as Governor of South Carolina, and he was getting ready for departure. He sailed from Plymouth for America in March, 1721,[2] and "just before his sailing" he sent Checkley "a verbal Message by a Gentleman, that the Hurry of his Affairs at that Time had hindered him from procuring" Checkley the needed information, "but that He wou'd desire Cap[t] Halley to send [Checkley] a Certificate relating to the Business." [3]

Now the gentleman [4] with the "verbal message" must have reached Boston at almost the same time as the ship which brought a hundred copies of Mather's Christian Philosopher, printed in London. This ship came into port in the course of the five days immediately preceeding March 31, 1721.[5] Checkley was a bookseller and a reading

[1] South Carolina Historical Collections, ii. 150; Acts of the Privy Council, ii. 794.

[2] This I infer from a letter from Nicholson to Alban Butler, dated Plymouth, March 8, 1721 (MS. Letter-Book of the Royal Society, N. 1. 89, cited by Andrews and Davenport, Guide to the Manuscript Materials, 1908, p. 365), which was manifestly written just before sailing, — as well as from the date on which Nicholson arrived in South Carolina, May 22, 1721 (South Carolina Historical Collections, i. 232).

[3] Checkley's letter to Halley, April 26, 1721 (Slafter, ii. 151–152).

[4] Probably he came with Captain Bourn, who arrived on April 8, 1721, seven weeks from London; or with Captain Tuthill, of the snow Anna, who arrived on April 14th, nine weeks from London (see Sewall, Diary, iii. 287, 288).

[5] Jeremiah Dummer wrote to Mather from London on September 12, 1720, with regard to The Christian Philosopher: "Your Book is compleatly printed; but I don't yett publish it, because in the Recess of Parlaiment, all people of Distinction are out of Town, and if it should come abroad now, it would be an old Book before the parlaiment meets. This is a piece of prudence that the best Authors are obliged to use. Besides, I have not yett determined upon the Patron" (quoted by Mather in a letter to John Winthrop, December 26, 1720: 4 Massachusetts Historical Collections, viii. 445). A patron was soon found, for the dedication ("To Mr. *Thomas Hollis*, Merchant in *London*"), signed by the Rev. Thomas Bradbury, is dated "London, *Sept.* 22. 1720." Doubtless the book was published before the end of the year, and the "1721" in the imprint was the customary bookseller's trick of post-dating. Checkley (in his letter to Halley) says it was published in 1720 (Slafter, ii. 152), and Samuel Mather puts it under that year (Life of Cotton Mather, p. 174). Cotton Mather himself, in an unpublished letter of December 10, 1720, to Josiah Everleigh of Crediton, England (in the collection of the American Antiquarian Society), remarks: — "There is newly published (as I am told, for I have not yett seen it,) in *London*, a Book entituled, The CHRISTIAN PHILOSOPHER." The first consignment of the books left England in that winter, but the ship was blown off the New England coast, took refuge in Antigua, and did not arrive in Boston until March 26–31, 1721. This appears from Mather's Diary, March 31, 1721 (which was Friday): — "My,

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man. He soon got hold of one of these volumes and noted that the title-page described the author as a "*Fellow of the* ROYAL SOCIETY." Here was a fresh document in his case against Mather. Checkley was too ardent a controversialist to wait patiently for the results of Nicholson's promised letter to the Secretary of the Society, — which, indeed, might never have been written at all. He took the inquiry into his own hands and, on April 26, 1721, he directed a fervid appeal to Halley, a perfect stranger, enclosing a copy of the epistle that he had previously despatched to Nicholson, and continuing in the extraordinary terms that follow:

Thus (S^{r}) you have both my Petition & the Cause of it. And now I most humbly entreat of you (Capt Halley) to send me a Certificate under your own Hand, relating to Mr Mather's being a Fellow or not a Fellow of the royal Society. Mr Mather hath published a Book in London in 1720, entituled the Christian Philosopher, in which He writes Himself at Length, Fellow of the royal Society. Teacher Bradbury writes a Preface to it inscrib'd to Mr Hollis. S^{r}, your sending me the Certificate by the very first Opportunity, will capacitate me to defend myself from these Sons of Strife, Schism & Sedition, and will indeed be an Act of Charity to a distressed, persecuted (but I thank God a true) Son of our Holy Mother the Church of England, and your unknown, but very humble & devoted Servt.[1]

The tone of this impertinent request shows how uncharitably certain Checkley felt that Mather had been sailing under false colors. It is amusing to notice that he desires Halley to address his reply

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Christian Philosopher, in a vessel blown off our Coast last Winter,) is this Week arrived from *England;* an Hundred of the Books are come," and from his letter to John Winthrop, April 17, 1721: — "Our CHRISTIAN PHILOSOPHER (blown off the last Winter to *Antigua*) is newly arrived. And tho' I am not myself made owner of more than one, yett our Bookseller has one Hundred" (4 Massachusetts Historical Collections, viii. 447). The bookseller was Samuel Gerrish: see his advertisement at the end of The World Alarm'd, 1721 (p. 95 note 2, above).

[1] Slafter, ii. 152–153. It is well to remember that Checkley was involved, in some fashion, in the proceedings against Mather in the vexatious business of Nathan Howells's estate. On December 31, 1720, Checkley writes to John Read: "The papers against Mr Mather I have still by me, the reason this; I shewed them to Mr Hearne, who said it wou'd be to no purpose to proceed without one of the Witnesses cou'd be present to prove the Bond. I wish this Affair had been committed to some other Person, lest my appearing in it shou'd seem to proceed from Spite & ill Will" (Slafter, ii. 145).

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to "Doct^r John Checkley," thus himself assuming a title which was popularly given to him (as an apothecary) in Boston, but which, educated as he was in England, he must have known would hardly have been accorded him in the mother country.[1]

It is highly improbable that Halley deigned to answer Checkley's letter. But it appears to have been read at a meeting of the Society,[2]

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[1] The Rev. Samuel Lee, in writing to Dr. Nehemiah Grew, June 25, 1690, about the medical profession in Boston, remarks: "Practitioners are laureated gratis with a title feather of Doctor. Potecaries, Surgeons & Midwifes are dignified acc. to Successe" (Sloane MS. 4062, fol. 235 r°). Checkley, in Dr. Slafter's phrase, kept "a variety store," and "in this little shop he sold books and medicines, and such small articles of merchandise as would command a ready sale in a thriving New England village" (i. 13).

[2] "A distinguished, & a diminutive Crue of Odd people here, when they could find no other Darts to throw at me, imagined their not finding my name in the printed List of the *Royal Society*, would enable them to detect me of an Imposture, for affixing an F. R. S. unto my Name, on some Just Occasions for it. And an Infamous Fellow, whose name is *John Checkley*, a Sorry *Toyman*, (that yett had the Impudence to write as a *Divine*) wrote a Letter full of Scandalous Invectives against me, which was publickly read in the *Royal Society*. This wretched Man, ambitious to do the part of a *Divine*, printed here some Rapsodies, to prove, *That the God whom* K. William, *and the Christians* of New England, *have Worshipped*, is the *D—l*— A young and a Bright Kinsman of mine, bestowed such Castigations on the Blasphemer, that I became thereupon the object of his Implacable Revenges" (Mather to Jurin, May 21, 1723; printed by N. Darnell Davis, see p. 90 note 4, above: I follow the Gay MS., fols. 174–175).

Mr. Darnell Davis's copy unfortunately made Mather call Checkley "a Sorry Toryman" instead of "Toyman." The latter term describes Checkley by his occupation, since he kept a "variety store." *Toy*, in the language of Mather's time meant, not merely "plaything," but "any small or trifling object." Mather's remark that Checkley "had the Impudence to write as a *Divine*" refers to the fact that Checkley's anonymous tract, Choice Dialogues, professed to be "By a *Reverend* and *Laborious* Pastor in *Christ's Flock*, by *One* who has been, for almost *twice thirty years*, a *faithful & Painful Labourer* in *Christ's Vine-yard*."

Dr. Slafter (John Checkley, i. 48) regards the charge which Mather brings against Checkley of "printing some rhapsodies to prove that the God whom K. William and the Christians of New England have worshipped is the Devil" as quite unjustified by the language of the tract. I must say, however, that a careful scrutiny of Checkley's words (Slafter, i. 152–153) leaves upon my mind the impression that Mather has not seriously distorted their implication. Checkley certainly allows the Countryman to say that a certain doctrine of high Calvinism "seems all *Blasphemy* to me; to represent the infinit *Goodness* and *Father* of *Mercies*, in the Colours of *Cruelty* it self, that you cou'd not exceed it in the Description of the *Devil!*" and the Minister (who voices the author's sentiments) seems rather to justify the Countryman by remarking, "Therefore the *Lutherans* have charg'd the *Calvinists* with Worshipping the *Devil*," and by explaining their

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and to have prompted Mather's constant friend, Dr. John Woodward, to write to Mather inquiring what the trouble was. Mather replied, in November, 1721, explaining his relations with Checkley, and (no doubt) begging Woodward for some assurance as to his actual status.

I have said that Woodward was Mather's constant friend. This will come out clearly in the sequel, but it is satisfactory to know for certain that in the very month in which Checkley was penning his missive to Halley, Woodward had written (April 3, 1721) to Mather in the most friendly manner, explaining the failure of the Philosophical Transactions to print some of Mather's communications on the ground that "the Editors, since Mr. Wallers Death, are very neglectfull & partial; by which the Society suffers not a little," and adding: "For my own Part I have not been wanting in Doing you Justice: and makeing the Curious here sensible of your Diligence there." [1]

I have said that Mather wrote to Dr. Woodward in November, 1721, giving him an account, in response to an inquiry, of the quarrel which had led to Checkley's missive to Halley. This fact, and this date, may be gathered from a passage in Mather's subsequent letter to Jurin.[2] But we have other evidence, enabling us to fix the date with exactness, for in Mather's Diary, under November 30, 1721, occurs the following entry:

Writing letters for *Europe*, I send over many Things, that I hope, will serve the Kingdom of GOD. And particularly, among the rest, I write a further and a more distinct Account of the *Small-pox inoculated*, the

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logical process in arriving at this conclusion. True, Checkley does not make the Minister accept the position of the Lutherans in so many words, but the Minister certainly appears to have no objection to it.

[1] 1 Massachusetts Historical Proceedings, xiii. 110–111. On the same date (*ibid.*) Woodward writes to John Winthrop (H. C. 1700), whom Mather had brought into epistolary relations with him about 1718 (4 Massachusetts Historical Collections, viii. 428). He thanks Winthrop for shells, asks for fossils and Indian bones and utensils, and mentions Mather: "Dr Mather has said nothing, as yet about the Water Doves that you Sent Him." On the water dove see Collections, as above, viii. 435, 436.

[2] "But of this matter I gave Dr *Woodward* a more full Account, a year and half ago." "I shall keep such Terms, as I used unto my Doctor, when he had what he required [i. e., requested] of me upon it" (Mather to Jurin, May 21, 1723, Gay MS., fol. 175). Eighteen months before May, 1723, would be November, 1721.

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Method and Success of it among us, and the Opposition to it; By which Means, I hope, some hundreds of thousands of Lives, may in a little while come to be preserved.

The document to which this entry particularly refers is easily identified. It was a formal communication to the Royal Society, addressed to Dr. Woodward, and entitled "A further Account of the Method and Success of the Small-pox Inoculated,"— under which title it stands catalogued, in Mather's handwriting, in a list of *Curiosa Americana* which were certainly sent to the Society (addressed to Woodward) at about this time.[1] With every such packet of scientific communications it was Mather's habit to send a covering letter, of a more personal and informal character, and it was, we may be sure, in the personal letter to Woodward (enclosing the "Further Account" and other communications) that Mather replied to Dr. Woodward's inquiry about the trouble with Checkley which had prompted the latter to despatch his extraordinary epistle to Halley. Thus we are enabled to assign Mather's reply to Woodward's inquiry to a precise date, — November 30, 1721.

One question, of immense significance, emerges from our jejune collation of dates and documents: — Was not the agitation concerning Mather's right to wear the title of F. R. S. — started (it seems) by Checkley in 1720 — furthered and intensified by the inoculation controversy in Boston?[2] This controversy broke out in June, 1721, when Mather issued (in manuscript) his Address to the Physicians.[3]

[1] This list (in the possession of the American Antiquarian Society) consists of thirteen titles and is headed: "Curiosa Americana, Continued — In letters to Dr John Woodward." It is the table of contents once belonging to a sheaf of draughts which have perished, while *it* survives, a loose leaf laid in a MS. volume of other draughts (also of *Curiosa*). The same list of thirteen articles occurs (with variations in some of the titles) in the catalogue enclosed in Mather's letter to Jurin, May 21, 1723 (Gay MS., fols. 179–181). There is much to be said about these thirteen Curiosa, but this is not the place to discuss them. I could make it practically certain, if space allowed, that the third of the thirteen was the "further Account" mentioned in the Diary, November 30, 1721.

[2] See Dr. Reginald H. Fitz's admirable paper, Zabdiel Boylston, Inoculator, and the Epidemic of Smallpox in Boston in 1721 (The Johns Hopkins Hospital Bulletin, No. 247, September, 1911, xxii. 315–327).

[3] For the date, June 6, 1721, see A Vindication of the Ministers of Boston, 1722 (dated at the end, January 30, 1721–2), p. 7, and [Isaac Greenwood,] A Friendly Debate; or A Dialogue between Academicus; and Sawny & Mundungus, 1722 (dedication dated February 15, 1721–2), pp. 5–6.

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The Royal Society was keenly interested, and news from the seat of war was always welcome. The first inoculation in Boston was performed by Zabdiel Boylston, at Mather's instance, on June 26, 1721,[1] and it is possible that Mather apprised Dr. Woodward of it immediately, in a letter of June 29th.[2] It is certain, at any rate, that on September 25th Dr. William Douglass, the vociferous and determined opponent of Mather and Boylston, wrote from Boston to Alexander Stuart, M. D., F. R. S., in London,[3] inquiring what English physicians thought of "this rash practice," expressing his own opposition to it, and describing Mather as "a certain credulous Preacher of this place." His letter was read before the Royal Society, presumably by Stuart, on November 16, 1721.[4] The English doctors, of course, were not all of one mind. Dr. James Jurin, the Secretary of the Royal Society, was much in favor of inoculation.[5] Dr. Stuart's attitude I do not know, but his public reading of Douglass's letter looks unfriendly to the practice.

Early in 1722 Douglass put forth an anti-inoculation tract, in the form of a Letter to Stuart, dated December 20, 1721, in which he twits Mather on his correspondence with the Royal Society. "A certain Reverend Gentleman of the Town," he calls him, "a Man of *Whim* and *Credulity*," who thought the outbreak of the smallpox "a fit Opportunity to make Experiments on his Neighbours, (which in his Vanity he might judge acceptable to the Royal Society)."[6]

[1] Boylston, An Historical Account of the Small-Pox Inoculated, 1726, p. 2.

[2] On this date Mather remarks, in his Diary, "I am writing for *London*, and sending more Things to serve the Kingdome of God."

[3] For Stuart, see Nichols, Literary Anecdotes, ii. 95, n.* He died on September 15, 1742.

[4] The letter is preserved in the Letter-Book of the Royal Society, D. 2. f. 2 (Gay MS., fol. 259–261). It is endorsed as "read Novr. 16. 1721."

[5] On Jurin, see Nichols, Illustrations of the Literary History of the Eighteenth Century, v. 122; Literary Anecdotes, vi. 92–93, n. §§, ix. 506. He died March 22, 1749–50, in his 66th year. For his interest in inoculation, and the eagerness with which he welcomed news on the subject from New England, see especially his essay entitled A Letter to the Learned Dr. Caleb Cotesworth . . . ; containing a Comparison between the Danger of the Natural Small Pox, and of that given by Inoculation (Philosophical Transactions, No. 374, for November–December, 1722, xxxii. 213–227), in which he quotes a letter from Mather, March 10, 1721–2 (preserved in Sloane MS. 3324, fol. 260), and to which he appends an account from Captain John Osborne which, as he says, "confirms the Extract given above from Mr. *Mather's* Relation" (p. 225).

[6] Inoculation of the Small Pox as practised in Boston, Consider'd in a Letter

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And again, near the end, he styles Mather "a certain *Gentleman*, (who you know in times past has been troublesome to the R. S. with his trivial credulous Stories)." [1]

This last slur must have been particularly galling to Mather, who was rather sensitive about the delay which the Fellows of the Society sometimes showed in acknowledging his communications and about the failure of most of them to get into print. He betrays this feeling in writing to John Winthrop (H. C. 1700) [2] and also in some of his letters to his correspondents in the Society.[3] Indeed, he had apparently been unable to conceal his sensitiveness from his associates in Boston, — even from Douglass himself, with whom, before this quarrel about inoculation, he had been on excellent terms.[4] Douglass adverts to the matter again in a letter to Cadwallader Colden (May 1, 1722), in which he characterizes "Mather, Jr." as "a credulous vain preacher," and alleges that he "set inoculation at work" in order "that he might have something to send home to the Royal Society who had long neglected his communications as he complained." [5]

Douglass's sneers did not pass unnoticed by Mather's friends, and it is particularly instructive to observe the way in which Isaac Greenwood expresses himself in February, 1722,[6] on this point of Mather's connection with the Royal Society, in his little masterpiece of controversial raillery, the Dialogue between Academicus, and Sawny and Mundungus. "He," says Academicus (Greenwood) to Sawny (Douglass), "has been above Forty Years a Celebrated Preacher, and has been so acknowledged by *Foreign Universities*, as no *American* ever was before him, and justly merited the Honour of being a *Member* of the ROYAL SOCIETY." [7] Greenwood's challenge was instantly

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to A—— S—— M. D. & F. R. S. in London (Boston, 1722), pp. 1–2. The tract, though anonymous, was well known to be by Douglass.

[1] P. 20.

[2] 4 Massachusetts Historical Collections, viii. 440, 444, 448, 449, 452, 453, 455.

[3] To Woodward, July, 1716, and July 25, 1717 (M. H. S.); to Jurin, May 21, 1723 (Gay MS., fol. 175). Cf. Woodward's letter to Mather, April 3, 1721 (1 Massachusetts Historical Proceedings, xiii. 111).

[4] [Isaac Greenwood,] A Friendly Debate, 1722, pp. 19–20.

[5] 4 Massachusetts Historical Collections, ii. 169.

[6] The dedication ("To my very Worthy Physician, Mr. Zabdiel Boylston") is dated "*E musæo meo, Feb.* 15. 1721, 2."

[7] A Friendly Debate; or, A Dialogue, between Academicus; and Sawny & Mundungus (Boston, 1722), p. 13.

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accepted in an anonymous Dialogue between Rusticus and Academicus,[1] which is dedicated in mockery "To the Very Reverend and Learned Dr. Cotton Mather, Fellow of the Royal Society." In the Advertisement prefixed, the anonymous author takes pains to refer to "C. M. D. D. and F. R. S.," and again (echoing Greenwood's phrases) to "the said C. M. (who has justly merited the Honour of being a Member of the ROYAL SOCIETY)." Further, in the course of his dialogue, he uses, as a kind of *ipse dixit*, the sentence, "*Dr.* Cotton Mather (*Fellow of the Royal Society*) *says so.*"[2] Once more, when he is about to quote Oldmixon's violent attack[3] on the Magnalia, he prefaces it by repeating Greenwood's praise of Mather (which I have just quoted) word for word.[4] And finally, in appending a document which he ascribes to Mather's son,[5] he speaks of this young man as "an *Academical* Brother (Son to a Fellow of the Royal Society)."[6]

All this does not, in strictness, denote a doubt of the genuineness of Mather's title of F. R. S., though it certainly is susceptible of that interpretation, in view of the fact that the question had already been raised among his enemies. But in this same year (1722) Douglass went to press with another Letter to Stuart,[7] in which he not only ridiculed Mather's communications to the Royal Society,[8] but

[1] A Friendly Debate; or, A Dialogue between Rusticus and Academicus, Boston, 1722. The dedication, burlesquing Greenwood's, is dated "*From the South Side of my Hay-stack*, March 9. 1721, 2."

[2] P. 2.

[3] "What Mr. *Oldmixon* says in his *History of the British Colonies*, Page 108, 109." The work referred to is Oldmixon's British Empire in America, 1708, vol. i.

[4] P. 5.

[5] That is, of course, Samuel Mather (1706–1785), then (like Greenwood) a student in Harvard College, where he took his first degree in 1723.

[6] P. 8.

[7] The Abuses and Scandals of some late Pamphlets in Favour of Inoculation of the Small Pox, Modestly obviated, and Inoculation further consider'd in a Letter to A—— S—— M. D. & F. R. S. in London. Boston, 1722. This is dated at the end "Feb. 15*th*, 1721, 22."

[8] Pp. 6–7. He refers particularly to three: (1) a letter to Woodward, November, 1712, as reported in the Philosophical Transactions, xxix. [64]; (2) the squaring of the circle; (3) "the Longitude at Sea." "The Quadrature of the Circle" was one of a series of twelve communications sent by Mather to John Chamberlayne, F. R. S., in February, 1720 (see catalogue enclosed in the letter to Jurin, May 21, 1723, Gay MS., fol. 180; Mather to John Winthrop, December 26, 1720, and

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went so far as to suggest that the Society had repudiated him. "Perhaps," writes Douglass, "he may oblige this his *Alma Mater* [1] to disown him for a Son, as it seems the *Royal Society* have already done, by omitting his Name in their yearly Lists." [2]

Finally, on November 21, 1722, John Checkley sailed for England.[3] By this time, in all human probability, Mather had learned that Checkley's letter of April 26, 1721, and Douglass's of September 25, 1721, had been read before the Royal Society. No reply had come from Mather's letter of November 30, 1721, to Dr. Woodward [4] — we should remember that the postal service was irregular and precarious, and that packets were continually miscarrying. Stuart must have been regarded by Mather as a hostile influence within the Society. The fact that Douglass claimed Stuart as an old friend [5]

March 12, 1722–3: 4 Massachusetts Historical Collections, viii. 444, 455). In his letter to Winthrop on March 12, 1722–3, Mather writes: "Mr. *Chamberlain* tells me (and I feel it from other circumstances,) That my XII Letters to him have been published. And yett I have never to this Hour seen them." The "other circumstances" which in Mather's mind confirmed Chamberlayne's words, were, I suppose, this passage in Douglass's book, for Mather did not see how Douglass could have known of his paper on squaring the circle unless it had been printed. But the essay is not known to exist, either in print or in manuscript. As for the paper on Longitude, that is not even mentioned in any of Mather's lists of his *Curiosa*. I suspect it formed a part, either of this essay on the Circle or of some other letter of the twelve sent to Chamberlayne. If (as seems probable) these letters were *not* published, some member of the Society must have given Douglass his information, — Stuart, I should conjecture.

[1] That is, the University of Glasgow. Douglass is referring to Mather's degree of D. D.

[2] Introduction, p. [ii].

[3] Sewall, Diary, iii. 312. Sewall says that Checkley sailed for London "in Barlow," — that is, in Captain Henry Barlow's vessel, probably the Hanover. At all events, that was Henry Barlow's vessel in June, 1721 ("Hen. Barlow, Hanover for London" is recorded as "outward bound" in the Boston News-Letter for June 29–July 3, 1721, No. 908, p. 2). Dr. Slafter inadvertently confuses the vessel with the captain and says that Checkley sailed "in the ship *Barlow*" (John Checkley, i. 49). Checkley reached Boston, on his return, on September 23, 1723 (cf. Slafter, i. 49, 50 n. 40, ii. 162, with the Boston Gazette, September 30, 1723, p. 4/1 — a reference which I owe to Mr. Albert Matthews).

[4] No reply had reached Mather by May 21, 1723, as appears from his letter to Jurin of that date.

[5] Douglass begins his printed letter of February 15, 1721–2 (The Abuses and Scandals, etc.), with the words: "Our former Intimacy in our Travels and Study abroad is all the Apology I shall make for addressing you with this Letter."

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and had dedicated two anti-Mather pamphlets to him [1] would inevitably produce that impression, even if no report of Stuart's attitude (whatever that attitude may have been) had reached Boston. So far as I know, Mather nowhere mentions Stuart, but there is a bare possibility that he alludes to him in a letter to Woodward, dated September 21, 1724. This letter is devoted to the famous Amphisbæna, immortalized by Whittier (with the inevitable fling at Cotton Mather) in his poem of The Double-headed Snake of Newbury. Here Mather subscribes himself "one, who forever wishes your Protection from the *Amphisbæna* in *humane Shape* among you." [2] Perhaps this is Stuart, whose other head may have been Douglass! But another interpretation is far more probable.

At all events, by the spring of 1723, there were reasons enough why Mather should think it high time to put an end to the current discussion as to his right to call himself an F. R. S. He had no doubt — it is inconceivable that he should have had any doubt — that he was fully justified in wearing that title; but the situation was awkward, and some action on his part seemed advisable. Accordingly, on May 21, 1723, he addressed a straightforward and cir-

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In his Practical Essay concerning the Small Pox (Boston, 1730), which is dedicated to Stuart, Douglass is more specific: "Our former Intimacy in the Universities in Holland and Hospitals in Flanders, inclined me to this Address."

[1] Inoculation of the Small Pox as practised in Boston (1722) and The Abuses and Scandals (1722).

[2] Royal Society Letter-Book, M. 2. 47 (Gay MS., fol. 222). Mather's draught (dated September 21, 1724) is in M. H. S. Mather's informant as to the Newbury monster was the Rev. Christopher Toppan (see an extract from Toppan's letter of July 6, 1724, in Joshua Coffin's History of Newbury, 1845, p. 195). Unfortunately Mather's words in the letter to Woodward are ambiguous; "your Protection" may mean either "protection at your hands" or "protection for you." If the latter is the sense (as the context makes probable), Mather may be alluding to Dr. Richard Mead (1673–1754), who had attacked Woodward with a sword and put him in danger of his life in 1719. Woodward's own account of the affray (headed "Relation of a Duel," and dated June 13, 1719) may be read in Nichols's Literary Anecdotes, vi. 641–642 (from The Weekly Journal, London, June 20, 1719); cf. vi. 212 ff. Woodward had sent Mather an account of the affair, which he received in July, 1720, and sent to John Winthrop (Mather to Winthrop, July 15, 1720, 4 Massachusetts Historical Collections, viii. 440). Mather's reply to Woodward, July 27, 1720, is in A. A. S. Mather also sent Winthrop, on August 29, 1720, a copy of his reply to Woodward (viii. 442), which Woodward acknowledged as a "very civil Letter of the later End of last Summer" on April 3, 1721 (1 Massachusetts Historical Proceedings, xiii. 110).

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cumstantial letter to Dr. James Jurin, then Secretary of the Society, reciting the facts of his election as he had understood them from Waller and Woodward, mentioning that both Halley and Petiver had adorned him with the letters F. R. S. in printed works (the former in the Philosophical Transactions itself), saying that he had been accused of imposture for using the title on appropriate occasions, and requesting Jurin to give him an authoritative and final decision as to whether he was or was not an F. R. S. I do not see how a man in Mather's position could have expressed himself in better taste than he shows in the following sentences, near the close of this letter to Jurin:

But if after all, it be the pleasure of those Honourable Persons, who compose or Govern the *Royal Society*, that I should lay aside my pretensions to be at all Related unto that Illustrious Body upon the least Signification of it by your pen, it shall be dutifully complied withal. I will only continue to take the leave of still communicating Annually to you (as long as I live) what *Curiosa Americana* I can become the possessor of. For (my Jewish Rabbis having taught me, to *Love ye Work* and have *little Regard unto the Rabbinate*) it is not the *Title*, but the *Service*, that is the Heighth, & indeed the Whole of my Ambition.[1]

And to prove that he was in earnest in his protestations, he enclosed an elaborate manuscript tract on inoculation (a subject in which he knew that Jurin was profoundly interested), and promised other communications in about a fortnight.[2] That he kept his word is

[1] I take this from the transcript in the Gay MS. (fol. 177), which seems to be a more exact copy than that printed by Mr. Darnell Davis.

[2] "As a Token of my purposes this way, and as an Earnest, of a much greater Variety, which I propose to send you by another Hand, about a Fortnight hence, I now present you with a tedious account of Sentiments & Occurrents, relating to a Subject, about which I perceive you are sollicitous to have ye exactest Informations" (Gay MS., fols. 177–178). What we know of Jurin would justify us in conjecturing that this subject was inoculation (cf. p. 103, above), but we can have certainty, for, in a later letter to Jurin (June 10, 1723), introducing Isaac Greenwood ("One of o^r *Inoculates*"), Mather says: "a few Days ago, I wrote you a Large Account of the Success wch the *Small Pox Inoculated* has had in these parts of the World" (Gay MS., fol. 210). He refers to this account again in a letter to Jurin, October 5, 1724: — "I should not have been sorry, if my Letter to you, Justifying the *Inoculation of the Small-pox*, had been published: — might it at all have contributed unto the more General Entertainment, of so Marvellous, — but, alas, how Satanically despised — a Blessing" (Gay MS., fol. 255).

We may confidently identify with "the tedious account" thus despatched to

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shown by a series of seven letters to Jurin (June 3–8, 10, 1723) in the archives of the Royal Society.[1] Evidently Mather wished to demonstrate that he really meant to be serviceable, whether or not the Society should confirm him in his title.

Jurin's reply to Mather's letter has not been found. Mr. Darnell Davis, in printing the document, remarks that it would be interesting to know what it was, and adds:

> A diligent search among the records of the Society has, however, failed to find that Cotton Mather's name was ever submitted to the general body of Fellows. Would it be an undue surmise to suspect that Cotton Mather's mistaken zeal in the witchcraft heresy stood in the way of his obtaining a two-thirds vote [i. e., in 1713, when his name passed the Council],[2] and that, the Council finding this the case, did not risk a rejection?[3]

Dr. Slafter, after quoting these words, with approval, continues with another suggestion:

> But in addition to this, his Sermon before the General Court in Boston in 1690 had been published, and was by no means flattering to the members of the Church of England. His open and violent hostility to the Church, and abusive language concerning it must have been known, and could not have gained for him many friends among the Fellows of the Royal Society, who were, we presume, mostly prominent members of the Church of England.[4]

And now we arrive at the two pieces of fresh evidence which are my only excuse for the present paper.

Several months ago I came across an entry in the Diary of the

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Jurin on May 21, 1723, a letter of which the draught (in Mather's hand) is in A. A. S. It is dated May 4, 1723, is headed "The Case of the Small-Pox Inoculated; further Cleared. To Dr James Jurin," and occupies twenty-one pages of manuscript. It well deserves printing.

[1] Copies are in the Gay MS., fols. 181–209. Mather's original draughts are in A. A. S. Two of these letters were read at meetings of the Society (as endorsements in the Letter-Book show), — that of June 7 ("The Land Sail'd upon") on December 5, and that of June 10 ("A Singular Case") on December 12, 1723. The covering letter (June 10, 1723) introduces the bearer of the packet, Isaac Greenwood.

[2] Passage in brackets mine.

[3] The Nation, liv. 128; Register, xlvi. 117.

[4] Slafter, John Checkley, i. 47.

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distinguished antiquary, Ralph Thoresby, F. R. S., under date of April 11, 1723:

Afternoon: transcribing rest of Mr. Thomas Milner's will and benefactions, till four, at the Royal Society; I gave my vote for the Rev. Mr. Williams, to be librarian; and keeper of the Museum; he had more votes than most of the eight candidates, yet was outdone by one, viz., Mr. Hawkesby; after I had voted for Mr. Cotton Mather to be F. R. S. returned in time for prayers. This was a very large convention of the Society; I met with good old Dr. Sl. . . .[1] and other ancient acquaintance, and never saw so great a number of the Fellows together, three rooms almost filled; Dr. Tancred Robinson and I sat on the same chair.[2]

Of course this entry left no doubt in my mind that the Royal Society balloted on the name of Cotton Mather on the 11th of April, 1723, in the afternoon. The startling thing was the date, — almost ten years later than the letter from Waller quoted by Samuel Mather. It remained to consult the records of the Society, which, it was to be hoped, would clear up the mystery. Professor Ernest W. Brown, of Yale University, himself an F. R. S., was so kind as to forward my queries to the proper quarter, and the response was prompt and satisfactory. I have a letter[3] from Robert Harrison, Esq., Assistant Secretary and Librarian, containing the following extract from the MS. Journal of the Society for April 11, 1723:

Dr. Woodward informed the President that Dr. Cotton Mather of New England was recommended many years ago to the Society for a Fellow, and had also upon a reference to the Council past their approbation in order to be ballotted for in the Society, which was never yet done, he therefore desired that the said gentleman might be now ballotted for, which being granted, Dr. Cotton Mather was elected a Fellow.

Mather's appeal to Jurin, we observe, had been effectually answered before it was written. It bears date May 21, 1723, and the Society

[1] Sir Hans Sloane.

[2] The Diary of Ralph Thoresby, F. R. S., ed. Hunter, 1830, ii. 366. Thoresby himself was admitted into the Royal Society in 1701. He notes the ceremonies which we have already heard of in this discussion: — "This being the first time I was at London since my admission into the Royal Society, I subscribed my name in the book; the formality of the Vice-President's taking me by the hand and publicly pronouncing me (in the name of the Society) a Fellow of the Royal Society, . . . may be seen in my Diary" (i. 339–340).

[3] November 16, 1911.

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had already acted, at the instance of Woodward, on the 11th of April. The inquiry provoked by the pugnacious Checkley had operated in a way its originator little expected. Woodward, we remember, had written to Mather, and Mather had replied.[1] Investigation of the Society's records had doubtless followed, and the awkward blunder of ten years before had come to light. For this blunder Mather was obviously not responsible. It was Waller, if anybody, who was to blame; for he had certainly informed Mather that he had been elected in 1713 both by the Council and by the body of Fellows. The Council's vote was correctly entered in the Minutes, but no record could be found of Mather's election by the Society. Perhaps there had been an informality in the balloting; perhaps there was an omission in the record. Waller, who had nominated Mather, and who, as Secretary, should have entered his election (if it took place) in the Journal,[2] had been dead for several years.[3] There was only one way to set things right, — to abide by the face of the record, to assume that no ballot had been taken by the Society in 1713, and to proceed to such a ballot at this late day. Woodward stated the facts, in open meeting, to the President, Sir Isaac Newton, and asked for a ballot. And so, at last, Cotton Mather was duly elected a Fellow of the Royal Society on the 11th of April, 1723. It was still impossible for him to fulfil the technical condition of attending a meeting within four weeks, signing the obligation, receiving the right-hand of fellowship, and thus undergoing the ceremony of admission. But all this, in his case, was clearly regarded as of no immediate consequence. It is ridiculous to imagine that the Society elected him, under these exceptional circumstances, with the intention that his election should

[1] See pp. 101–102, above.

[2] The Statutes provide that "the Election and Admission of every person into the Society, with the time thereof, shall be recorded in the Journal-book" (Chap. vi., sect. 7, p. 83).

[3] I have not found the date of Richard Waller's death. Thoresby paid him a call on August 14, 1714 (Diary, ii. 251), and says nothing about his being in poor health. Weld gives November 30, 1714, as the date when he ceased to be Secretary (History of the Royal Society, ii. 561). Dr. Woodward, on April 3, 1721, speaks of his death as if it were not recent (1 Massachusetts Historical Proceedings, xiii. 111). A passage in a letter from Mather to Dr. Woodward, July, 1716 (M. H. S.), mentions "our dear Mr. Waller" in a way which, taken in connection with the rest of the letter, makes me think that he is referring to him as a departed friend.

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become void in a month, — before he could be informed of it, indeed! We must suppose that the statutory proviso ("or within such further time, as shall be granted by the Society or the Council, upon cause shewed to either of them") was meant to go into effect in his case; and meantime, we may be sure, the Society expected him to annex the F. R. S. to his name. Otherwise, their action is unintelligible.

Less than four years later, on January 9, 1727, a new section was added to the Statute, in order to provide for just such cases of persons living at a distance:

> Every person, who is a foreigner, and every one of his Majesty's subjects, whose habitation or usual place of residence is at more than forty miles distance from London, shall be and be deemed a Fellow of the Society, immediately after he shall be elected, and shall be registered in the Journal-book of the Society as such: Provided always, that no such person shall have liberty to vote at any Election or meeting of the Society, before he shall be qualified pursuant to the Statutes. And if he shall neglect so to qualify himself, the first time he comes to London, when he may be present at a meeting of the Society, and can be admitted; his Election shall be declared void, and his name shall be cancelled in the Register.[1]

This section was, I suppose, not retroactive, and it has therefore no legal significance in the case of Cotton Mather, except perhaps to indicate that, in spite of his election, he was never, in the full technical sense of the term, a Fellow of the Royal Society. One thing, however, must now be clear, — that the Society did its utmost to make him a Fellow, and that, from 1723 until his death, he was an *F. R. S. elect*, lacking only the formality of a ceremonial admission. And the lack of this ceremony, we should remember, did not, according to the practice of the Society, deprive Americans of the right to be styled and to style themselves Fellows of the Royal Society — as we have seen already in the case of Paul Dudley.[2]

Thoresby's account of the meeting at which Mather was finally elected is particularly interesting. It was, he tells us, "a very large convention of the Society." He "never saw so great a number of the Fellows together." The assembly was so crowded that he and Dr.

[1] Diplomata et Statuta, 1752, pp. 83–84.

[2] See p. 96, above.

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Tancred Robinson had to "sit on the same chair."[1] Now it was well known to the meeting that Cotton Mather had been erroneously describing himself as an F. R. S. for nine years past. Their action, therefore, in electing him on this occasion is more eloquent than words. They were not offended at what he had done. They perceived that he had acted under an innocent — indeed, an unavoidable — misapprehension, and, in this large meeting, they corrected the error of their deceased Secretary and rehabilitated Mather in a way not less honorable to themselves than to him. Few men have ever received a more striking and brilliant vindication. John Checkley was in England at the time.[2] I trust he got early news of the occurrence.

It may seem to many persons, as it did to Dr. Slafter, "a matter of very little importance whether Dr. Mather was, or was not, a Fellow of the Royal Society."[3] But it certainly *is* of some consequence to know whether he was, or was not, a shameless impostor. It *is* of some consequence to know that, in using the letters F. R. S. from 1714 to 1723, he was acting in good faith and in a way that received the emphatic endorsement of the Society. And it is at least very pleasant to feel sure that when, after the vote of April 11, 1723, he appended this title to his name (as he did, for example, in Successive Generations in 1725, and in the inscription under Peter Pelham's mezzotint likeness of him in 1727) he was proceeding in the strictest accordance with the desire and purpose of the Royal Society itself, as expressed in the plainest manner at a very large meeting of that august body.

How or when Mather was informed of his final election we do not know, — doubtless in an official notice from the Secretary, Dr. Jurin, and perhaps also in a private letter from Dr. Woodward. His replies would be good reading if we had them. His correspondence with

[1] The reason for so large an attendance was doubtless the election of a Librarian and Keeper of the Museum in place of Alban Thomas. Thoresby refers to the meeting again in a letter to Richard Richardson, M. D., June 21, 1723 (printed by Nichols, Illustrations of the Literary History of the Eighteenth Century, i. 810): — "I never saw such a number of the Fellows as upon that occasion; three rooms almost full." He mentions the fact that there were "many candidates put in for [Thomas's] place."

[2] See p. 106 note 3, above.

[3] John Checkley, i. 40.

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the Society continued. On August 3, 1723, he gave John Perkins, his family physician, a letter of introduction to Jurin.[1] In the early autumn of 1724 he despatched a set of "Curiosa Americana continued. In a Decad of Letters to Dr John Woodward and Dr James Jurin."[2] On October 5, 1724, he wrote a letter to Jurin introducing Howard Wyborn,[3] and on the 15th of the following December a letter introducing Zabdiel Boylston.[4] No later communications are preserved, if any were ever sent. The letter of October 5 is especially interesting, for it expresses, in its opening sentences, the satisfaction that Mather felt in the action of the Society in perfecting his title and his sense of gratitude to Jurin himself. I shall quote the passage in full, as a fit conclusion to our study of Cotton Mather's Election into the Royal Society:

> You have so encouraged me, by the kind Reception, which my former communications have had with you, and by your Means with my Illustrious Masters, that I cannot but in my poor way, continue them. I wish that they had been more valuable for Curiosity or Erudition. But they are what I have. And you will have the Goodness to consider me, as a man exceeding full of employments: Able but now & then after a Mean Manner to express my zeal for your Noble Design. Tis indeed nothing but that well-meaning Zeal, that can bespeak for me, the Room you are pleas'd to allow me in a SOCIETY which I esteem as one of the most Illustrious in the World.

Mr. HENRY H. EDES exhibited a copy of Christian Ravis's Hebrew Grammar, published at London in 1650, that had belonged to Samuel Hough, President John Leverett, Abiel Holmes, Sidney Willard, Edward Everett, and William W. Greenough, and bore several autograph signatures.

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[1] Royal Society Letter-Book, M. 2. 45 (Gay MS., fols. 211–213).

[2] Letter-Book, M. 2. 46–55 (Gay MS., fols. 213–253). The letters are dated October 1, and September 21–26, 28–30, 1724 (the year being omitted in the last). The letter of September 21 concerns the Amphisbæna of Newbury (see p. 107, above). That of September 23 describes the storm and high tide of February 24, 1723–4, and has been printed in 4 Massachusetts Historical Collections, viii. 456–457. Draughts of all these ten letters, except that on the storm, are in M. H. S.

[3] Letter-Book, M. 2. 56 (Gay MS., fols. 253–256).

[4] Letter-Book, M. 2. 57 (Gay MS., fols. 256–259).

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Mr. MELVILLE M. BIGELOW read a paper, written by Mr. Elroy M. Avery of Cleveland, Ohio, on John Humfrey,[1] the early Massachusetts magistrate, and his wife the Lady Susan Clinton, a daughter of Thomas Clinton (alias Fiennes), third Earl of Lincoln,[2] and a sister of Theophilus Clinton, fourth Earl of Lincoln. A New York genealogist[3] having recently denied that Humfrey's wife was the Lady Susan Clinton, Mr. Avery stated that there was abundant evidence to prove that she was;[4] and wrote in substance:

The admiral of Winthrop's fleet was, as every one knows, the Arbella, named for the Lady Arbella Johnson, a daughter of the third Earl of Lincoln and the wife of Isaac Johnson. Under date of September 30, 1630, Winthrop wrote: "About two in the morning, Mr. Isaac Johnson died; his wife, the Lady Arbella, of the house of Lincoln, being dead about one month before."[5] Johnson immediately informed Humfrey of his wife's death, and on December 9, 1630, Humfrey replied in a long letter which begins as follows:

To the worshipfull my dearely respected & much honoured brother Isaac Johnson Esqr. at Charlestowne in New England.

DEAREST BROTHER, — That which is yet new to mee & wherein I must follow your greife a far of, I desire may now grow old & out of date with you; there bee dayes of mourning which it is as meete to set a period unto, as it is seemely & needeful at first to take up. Therefore that I may not *renovare dolores* no more of that. Your late letter by the Gift[6] I received, blessing God for your health & prospering in the midst of all your losses. But good brother beare up, you have as much

[1] The name is variously spelled Humfrey, Humphrey, and Humphreys.

[2] The third Earl of Lincoln is usually stated to have been born in 1571; but when he matriculated at Christ Church, Oxford, on June 22, 1582, he was aged fourteen (Foster, Alumni Oxonienses, i. 292).

[3] Wharton Dickinson: see the New York Times of October 10, 1911, p. 1/7, and subsequent issues.

[4] A mass of evidence about Humfrey is brought together in Dr. F. Humphreys's The Humphreys Family in America (1883), pp. 66–91. See also J. T. Hassam, 2 Proceedings Massachusetts Historical Society, xiii. 36–43.

[5] Journal (1908), i. 52.

[6] The Gift, it will be remembered, was the ship that was to have taken Thomas Morton to England had not its captain refused to carry him (Winthrop, Journal, i. 53). It did not sail until after September 7, 1630 (Massachusetts Colony Records, i. 75).

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cause of comfort that so sincerely have devoted your selfe to the service of the Lord in his worke as anie that I know.[1]

Three days later — on December 12 — Humphrey wrote a letter to Governor Winthrop in which he used these words: "Sir I beseech you give mee & manie others occasion to bee thankeful unto you for your more indulgent care of your selfe, as I (above manie) have alreadie an obligation of further love & service laid upon mee for your tender care of my dearest brother."[2] And on December 17th and 23d, the news of Johnson's death not having reached London, Humphrey again wrote Johnson, addressing him in the one case as "Deare & much esteemed freind & brother" and in the other as "Dearest brother."[3] Humfrey was detained in England in 1630, and did not come over until 1634. In July of that year Winthrop wrote: "Mr. Humfrey and the Lady Susan, his wife, one of the Earl of Lincoln's sisters, arrived here."[4] Winthrop was intimately acquainted with Humfrey, and his statement alone would prove the identity of Humfrey's wife.

To the above pieces of evidence may be added another, not hitherto noted. On March 14, 1649–50, "Humphrey, (——), gent., of kin to (Theophilus 4th) Earl of Lincoln, and son of a colonel," was "created M.A. by dispensation" by Oxford University, his parentage being given as "Sarah" — a mistake for Susan — "daughter of Thomas, 3rd Earl of Lincoln, married to —— Humphreys, of the county of Kent, esq."[5] The recipient of the honorary degree was

[1] 4 Massachusetts Historical Collections, vi. 1. [2] vi. 5.

[3] vi. 9, 12. It is perhaps worth noting that in a letter dated March 4, 1636–7, written to her brother Governor Winthrop, Lucy Downing, the wife of Emanuel Downing, said: "I pray present my seruis to . . . Mrs Humphryes and his Lady, Mrs Saltinstall and hiss wife" (5 Massachusetts Historical Collections, i. 20). Mrs. Downing apparently makes a distinction between the "Lady" of Humphrey and the "wife" of Richard Saltonstall.

[4] Journal, i. 127.

[5] Foster, Alumni Oxonienses, ii. 766.

Fairfax, Cromwell, and others reached Oxford on May 17, 1649, and on May 19 were given honorary degrees, the first two that of D.C.L. The circumstances under which these degrees were given are thus stated by Wood (Fasti Oxonienses, edition of Bliss, 1820):

Creations.

The creations this year were made in all faculties, especially in that creation called by some the Fairfaxian creation, that is, that creation which was made when the lord Fairfax generalissimo of the parl. army and his lieut. gen. Cromwell were created doctors of law, and when others afterwards were created by

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clearly that Colonel John Humfrey, the eldest son of Colonel John Humfrey the Massachusetts magistrate,[1] who in 1641 was admitted a member of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company in Boston.[2]

In the discussion that followed the reading of this paper, the Rev. THOMAS FRANKLIN WATERS communicated the following abstracts from Essex County records at Salem which relate to John Humfrey and his family, and supplement what has already appeared in print:[3]

I

At a Court held at Boston, 6. 7 mo. 1642. Mrs. Liddea Banks against Mr. John Humphrey for pl. damage, 100£ cost 13s.

[Letter to William Hathorne.] Beloved Brother: Received yours dated 30. 3. 1645, and wrot to you again by the last ship. I hear you have sold my lands at the Plains for 123£. I left at my brother Mories a trunk. Yo loving sister in Christ, Lydia Bankes, Maydstone, August the 28: 1646. [Postscript:] pray let my indeared respect be presented to your wife, and all so to Mrs. dounind [Downing] & her husband desiring them to rejoyce with me for that the lord is pleas to make ther sone a instrument of praise in the hartes of tose that regoyc to hear the sperit of god poured forth upon our young men according to his word. let her know that he prech in our town of maidstone a day or two before this letter wass wrot to the gret soport of our sperites.[4]

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the said general's nomination when he was entertained by the then members of university (ii. 128).

Masters of Arts.

Those that were created this year masters of arts, were mostly officers that attended Fairfax the general and Cromwell his lieut. gen. to Oxon, when they were invited thither by the then members of the university, to see what a godly reformation the committee and visitors had made therein (ii. 130).

No fewer than twelve masters of arts, all of whom except one were officers, were created on May 19th, 1649; on May 21st two more officers, together with John Rushworth the historian, then Fairfax's secretary; and on "Mar. 14. . . . Humphreys gent. of kin to the earl of Lincoln, and son of a colonel, &c." (ii. 137).

[1] Exactly when the Lady Susan died is not known, but Humfrey married again after her death: see the remarks of Mr. Henry E. Woods, pp. 120–121, below.

[2] Roberts, History of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company, i. 116.

[3] See Essex Institute Historical Collections, iii. 107–108; New England Historical and Genealogical Register, xxxi. 307–308.

[4] Essex County Court Files, xxxvi. 55–56.

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23. 6 mo. 1655, William Hathorne one of the attorneys of Mrs. Liddea Banckes, late of Salem.

II

Adam Otley in behalfe of John Humphry esqr hath sould unto Ralph Fogg of Salem one frame of a dwelling house and Sellar, etc., 11 day of the 2d moneth 1644.[1]

III

Mr. Joseph Humphries and Mr. Edmund Batters the administrators of the estate heare in New England of John Humphryes esquire, deceased, layeth claim to five hundred acres of land, more or less, about and by a pond of fresh water nere Salem bounds, granted by the Generall Court to ye sayd John Humphries about the year 1635, & confirmed with its exstent or bounds by a Generall Court held at Newtowne 12th of ye first month 1637 or 1638, and now in ye tenure or occupation of Joseph Pope, as by the Courts order appeareth, this 19. 9^{ber} [16]61.[2]

IV

At a County Court held at Salem 30: 4: [16]74. Edward Richards of Lin, aged 60 yrs., deposed that about 20 years since, by virtue of judgment granted against Mr. Adam Otley, Joseph Armitage seased by execution cattle belonging to the estate of John Humphreys esq.

William Crafts, aged above 60, saw several cattle of Mr. John Humphreys upon the Town common of Lin on a Sabbath day above 20 yrs. since, which the deponent was informed Joseph Armitage had taken from Mr. Addam Oately by an execution.[3]

V

3 July 1663, Joseph Humfrey of Lynn in New England, gent., being bound on a voyage for England, am willing to order my estate here in New England as far as my interest is, an do make this my last will. My grant of 300 acres of land, granted to mee by the last General Court, if I dye before I come to New England, unto Mr. Antipas Boys for the use of his sonne Antipas jun. To Mr. Richard Price his sonne Thomas Price and to Mrs. Elizabeth Pelham all my right and title of my farme at Lynn, where Francis Ingalls now lives, equally to be divided between them, excepting tenn pounds that I give to Mr. Samuel Whiting senior and Pastor of the Church of Christ at Lynn. My trusty and well beloved friend Mr. Richard Price to be my executor. Witness my hand

[1] Essex County Deeds, i. 3.
[2] ii. 27.
[3] Essex County Court Files, xxi. 56.

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and seale, Joseph Humfrey. Witnesses, Thomas Kellond, John Wensley. Proved 23 Oct. 1672.

David Anderson aged 29 years or thereabouts testifyeth that above three years since, hee being then in Lisborne, Mr. Joseph Humfrey formerly of this country was then killed and the said deponent did helpe inter the body of the abovesaid Humfrey into his grave, and farther saith not. Taken upon oath Oct. 5, 1672.

At a County Court held at Salem the 26th of ye 9 mo. 1672. There being a copy of the last will and testament of Mr. Joseph Humphries deceased presented to this Court, wherein the Court find that the said Joseph Humphries did give and bequeath unto Thomas Price, son of Mr. Richard Price, and Mrs. Elizabeth Pelham all his right, title and interest in his farme at Lynn, given them provided they pay to Mr. Edmund Batter (late administrator) to the value of seventy five pounds and seaventeen shillings, as appears by his account is his just due from the estate, and is allowed by the Court, and the said Mr. Richard Price and Mrs. Elizabeth Pelham and the said farme are to be responsible to this Court for the further security against any of the relations of Mr. Joseph Humfries Esqr., deceased, that may lay just claime thereto or any part thereof.[1]

VI

John Miles of Swanzey in the Colony of New Plimouth in New England, Clerk, who married Ann Palmes the relict widdow of William Palmes late of Ardfinan in the County of Tipperary, Ireland, gent. deceased, constitute our well beloved son Griffin Edwards of Boston our attorney. John Myles. Anne Myels. January 15: 1680[-1].[2]

VII

At a County Court held at Salem, 28 June 1681. Griffin Edwards the husband of Elizabeth the daughter of Anne the now wife of Mr. John Miles ye only surviving child of John Humphrys esq. deceased, presenting a letter of Attorney under hand and seall of said Anne his mother in law relating to any right she has or ought to have in the estate of her said father, John Humphreys. Also producing a certificate under the hand of the Mayor of Clonmell[3] in Ireland and attested by several that the said Anne is the only surviving reputed Child of the said John Humphreys. The Court grants power of administration to him as her attorney, the Court having formerly ordered Mr. Thomas Price and Mrs. Elizabeth Pelham upon their receiving of Col. Humphrys farm at Lyn

[1] Essex County Probate, ii. 76–79. [2] Essex County Court Files, xxxi. 151.
[3] Clonmel is about six miles from Ardfinnan.

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into their hands to pay 75: 17: 00 to Mr. Edmund Batter which was a debt due from the estate, the said Price and Pelham to keep it in their possession as formerly until they shall be reimbursed the 75: 17: 00 and until they also be reimbursed other ten pounds which as a legacy of Mr. Joseph Humphrys they paid to Mr. Sam[1] Whiting the Pastor of the Church of Lyn.[1]

Mr. Henry E. Woods spoke as follows:

I have been much interested in the communications of Professor Bigelow and Mr. Waters, and especially in the Court record showing that Mrs. Ann (Humfrey) Miles was in 1681 the only surviving child of John Humfrey.

My interest in the Humfrey family history began some years ago, when I had occasion to look for the antecedents of one Mary Davis of Lynn who married Thomas Ivory there in 1660, and I discovered that she was the daughter of Jenkin Davis who, together with Daniel Fairfield and John Hudson, all of them servants of John Humfrey, had been involved in a criminal matter concerning two of Humfrey's daughters. The story is told in Winthrop's History of New England.[2] Fairfield was the most severely punished of the three culprits,[3] and after serving seven years of his sentence, he was allowed to depart from the Colony with his family.[4]

It must have been the daughter of Humfrey who had become the wife of Adam Otley of Lynn,[5] and who in 1642 is described by Winthrop as "newly married," to whom her young sisters Dorcas and Sarah confided their misfortunes. His daughter Ann, "a young gentlewoman" when she first came to New England with her father,[6] in 1634, evidently did not marry William Palmes of Ardfinnan, county Tipperary, Ireland, until after she left this country,[7] perhaps going back with her father, as probably did her brother John, in 1641. After the death of Palmes, she came again to New England with their four children, in 1680,[8] and soon afterwards married secondly, as his second wife, the Rev. John Miles of Swansea, dying at Swansea 17 December, 1693. It is evident that John Humfrey, the father, died at Westminster (London) between 16 and 19 December, 1651, at

[1] Essex County Court Files, xxxvi. 54.
[2] ii. 45–48, 85–86.
[3] Massachusetts Colony Records, ii. 12–13.
[4] ii. 273.
[5] New England Historical and Genealogical Register, xxxi. 308.
[6] Ibid.
[7] Ibid.
[8] Ibid.

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which time he had another wife, Mary, and that his son John administered the estate [1] and had a lawsuit with his stepmother.

Mr. FREDERICK L. GAY pointed out that William Coddington, one of the Massachusetts Assistants, in his book A Demonstration of True Love, speaking of The Planters' Plea and The Humble Request of His Majesty's Loyall Subjects, the Governor and the Company late gone for New England, dated aboard the Arbella April 7, 1630, says: "which was by John Humphry (a known Man that married the Earl of Lincoln's Sister, that printed them) dispersed into most Parts of England" (page 14).

Mr. JULIUS H. TUTTLE made the following communication:

One of the efforts of the early settlers to advance the interests of the Colony is shown in the action of the General Court on June 2, 1641, when —

The Court doth intreat leave of the church of Salem for Mr Peters, of the church of Roxberry for Mr Wells, & of the church of Boston for Mr Hibbens, to go for England upon some weighty occations for the good of the countrey, as is conceived.[2]

These men, Hugh Peter, Thomas Weld, and William Hibbens soon repaired to England on their important mission, where Weld became largely responsible for the work of the agents, as appears by the account submitted below. Little is known of what Mr. Peter did for the good of the Colony in this affair; and Mr. Hibbens's service ended in 1642 when he returned to New England. Weld in a letter dated September 25, 1643,[3] mentions letters which he had sent, and these may have been reports of progress. On October 1, 1645, the General Court recorded that it was the Court's mind, as to Weld and Peter, "y^t^ they desire their p^r^sence here, & speedy returne."[4]

Weld had written in 1643, from London, that —

the p^r^sent condition of this kingdome, y^t^ is now upon the Verticall point, together wth ye incredible importunities of very many godly Persons,

[1] 4 Massachusetts Historical Collections, vi. 286; 2 Proceedings, xiii. 40; Humphreys Genealogy, Supplement, pp. 17–18.

[2] Massachusetts Colony Records, i. 332.

[3] New England Historical and Genealogical Register, xxxvi. 39.

[4] Massachusetts Colony Records, ii. 137.

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great & smale (who hapily conceive we by o^{r} p^{r}sence doe more good here, then we o^{r}selves dare imagine y^{t} we doe) have made us, after many various thoughts, much agitation, & consultation wth god, & men, vnwillingly willing to venter o^{r}selves upon Gods Providence here, & be content to tarry one six moenths longer from yr & o^{r} churches most desired p^{r}sence with whom o^{r} hearts are, w^{t}hout the least wavering, fixed; Things can not long stand at this passe here, . . . If worse, we are like to bring thousands wth us to you.[1]

Neither Weld nor Peter returned to New England or responded to the desire of the General Court for "their p^{r}sence here, & speedy returne," but the results of Weld's labors must have been of considerable service to the struggling Colony. It is not until April, 1647, that a trace of an accounting is found. The paper, submitted below, is transcribed from the original in the State Archives, which is signed by Increase Nowell, William Tyng, Edward Jackson and Nathaniel Duncan, on October 25, 1651.

In January, 1649, Weld wrote in defence of himself and Peter, for neglect imputed to them in reporting their receipts and disbursements, in the cause which certainly Weld had had at heart for many years. When the account came into possession of the General Court is not known, but it probably was not far from the date of its being audited. That the record of Weld's work was open to inspection, certainly so far as the poor children were concerned, is shown by the following entry in his "Innocency cleared," where Weld says —

That if any desired to be fully satisfied in o^{r} receipts and disbursements for the poor childrens transportation they might pleas to repair to Mr Pococks shop at the plough in Watling street London and p'ruse o^{r} accounts.[2]

Mr. Weld's efforts may have led to the incorporation of the Corporation for the Promoting and Propagating the Gospel of Jesus Christ in New England, on July 27, 1649, by act of Parliament, a full account of which is given by our associate, Mr. Edes, in the Publications (VI. 180–182) for April, 1899. Edward Winslow is spoken of as "a chief agent in that worthy worke."[3]

The substance of Weld's account is given in his "Innocency cleared,"[4]

[1] New England Historical and Genealogical Register, xxxvi. 39.
[2] xxxvi. 65. [3] xxxvi. 65.
[4] xxxvi. 66–69.

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and in his statement presented in the same year to the new Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, and audited by its auditor, Nathaniel Duncan.[1] His account, given below, differs enough from these to warrant its being printed again.

Mr Weld is Debitor as appeeret by this Copie of his Acc foll.

A true acc^o^ of what Moneyes were by myselfe and othe^r^s, Receiued and from whome fo^r^ New England toward a Co̅mon Stock, the poore Children, the Colledge, advance of learning, the Library, the poore of N: England and the Conversion of the Indians from the tyme of ou^r^ first landing heere vntill this p^r^sent 10th of ye 2^d^ m^o^ 1647.

Ip^re^ I p̄cured by the helpe of my brothe^r^ Mr John Weld & m^r^ Reine^r^ of Lincolne		£ 57	12
Re^d^ more of my brothe^r^ John		£ 18	
Re^d^ of Mr Richard Herlackenden		£ 3	
Of m^r^ Liste^r^		£ 5	
Lent Good: Goue of the publick stock wch hee payd my agent their		£ 3	
Given in publick faith bills wch wee sould		£ 13	10
Of a Ladye in marke lane		£ 3	
m^r^ Robert Houghton		£ 20	
m^r^ Butche^r^ of Maidstone gaue mee		£ 5	
Of m^r^ Hibbens to cleere his accoumpts at his depture from hence		£ 1	8
Of Alderm̄ Andrewes		£ 50	
Capt Jackson		£ 20	
Mr Dixon m^r^ce^r^ in Lumbe^r^ streete		£ 10	
m^r^ Hunt since depted		£ 10	
Alderm̄ Chambe^r^s		£ 10	
m^r^ Richard Hill m^r^chant		£ 10	
m^r^ Stock in Gra: streete		£ 3	
m^r^ Stacke in the same place		£ 2	
m^r^ George Henly		£ 5	
m^r^s Wilson	£1		
m^r^s Stalls	£1		
m^r^s Peake	£1		
m^r^s Loe	£1	£ 4	
m^r^s Joshua Foote		£ 5	
m^r^s Bimon on fish streete hill		£ 5	
Col: Playe^r^ in the same streete		£ 5	
Re^d^ of m^r^s Goodwin of Borholme in Essex giuen p̄ her husbands will afte^r^ many Journeyes wch I made about it & much difficultie else it had bene lost		£ 50	
Docto^r^ Hurdon		£ 5	
		£323	10

[1] New England Historical and Genealogical Register, xxxix. 179–182.

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What I Re^{d} fo^{r} the poore Childrens transportation

Ip^{r}s Of m^{r} George Walke^{r} on of the Reviuou^{rs} appoynted by Parlement			£339	8
Mr Calamie ou^{r} othe^{r} Receiuo^{r}			£338	6
Of the othe^{r} Parishes wch were behind that brought it not in to them wth very much adoe at last by the L:Maio^{r}s asistance I got			£103	12 8
Sent vs from a ladie			£ 5	
Procured from Dedham in Essex			17	17 6
Of Childrens moneyes the some brought from ye othe^{r} side			£804	4 2
From Yarmouth in Northfolke			£ 12	
From Sudbery in Suffolk			£ 8	5
From Wrentham			£ 2	
The Ladye Armine gaue to transportation			£ 30	
Chil^{o} wee gott such of the poore Childrens parents & freinds as were able to lay downe some thing towarde thei^{r} transportation wch must bee considered fo^{r} them thei^{r} in due tyme vis:				
Mary Audleigh layd downe p her fathe^{r}	£1 10			
John Littlefeild by his maste^{r} heere	£2 10			
Judith Nichols by her fathe^{r}	£2			
John Stiles	£2		£ 8	
John Copland & his brothe^{r}	£2			
An othe^{r} whose name I know not	£2			
A child that came from Mary Stanning	£1			
John Emry	£2 10			
Edward Morgan	£2 10		£ 10	
			£874	9 2

What I Re^{d} fo^{r} the Colledge & fo^{r} the advance of learning

Ip^{r}s The lady Moulsham gaue mee fo^{r} a scholle^{r}ship 100^{li} the revenue of it to bee imployed that way fo^{r} eue^{r} fo^{r} wch I entered Couenant and am bound to haue it pformed	£100		
Mr Holbrock schoolemaste^{r} gaue me	£ 22		
Mr Bridges by his will	£ 50		
Mr Greenhill	£ 7		
Mr George Glouc^{r} to buy 2 books	£ 2		
Giuen by a Godly freind of myne who will haue his name Concealed	£ 50		
	£231		

What I Re^{d} fo^{r} the Poore.

Mr Bridges by will to be disposed by m^{r} Hooke^{r} m^{r} Syms m^{r} Peete^{r}s and my selfe	£ 20		
My Cosen Hayward of Barholt in Essex	£ 5	5	
Mr Clarke merce^{r}	£ 1	10	
Mr Richard Andrews fo^{r} ye poore in N: England & old 10^{li} so I acc^{o} 5^{li} fo^{r} the poore thei^{r}	£ 5		
	£ 31	15	

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What I Re^{d} towards Conversion of the Natiues

The Ladye Armine hath payd alreadye fo^{r} 3 yeers	£ 60		
She hath also ꝑmised fo^{r} this last due in M^{r}ch wth wch I charge my selfe & rely vpon the payment	£ 20		
Mr Craddock	£ 10		
Of an other	£ 2	10	
	£ 92	10	
	£ 31	15	
	£231		
	£874	9	2
	£323	10	
	£1553	04	2
For a bill of so much payd his sonne ꝑ the Trea.	71	18	4
	£1625	2	6

Accompt of the disposing of all the m^{o} was giuen to this Country fo^{r} several vses as foll most Collected ꝑ m^{r} Weld.

Ip^{r} The 500 from m^{r} Andrews is giuen in Cowes to poore people according to orde^{r} of the Dono^{r}			
The 1553–4–2^{d} wch m^{r} Weld giueth on this acc^{o}			
Re^{d} from several Benefacto^{r}s			
For Chargs p^{d} in England ꝑ m^{r} Weld on seu^{r}al occasions gathered out of his acc^{o}	£347	19	1
more payd & to pay to m^{r} Pocock	£150		
more to the Colledge	£291	3	10
more fo^{r} Instruction of Indians	£ 78	16	3
More m^{r} Weld payd fo^{r} powde^{r}	£ 39	1	
More 35^{li} layd out thei^{r} for children wch came not, & cannot be received	£ 35		
Maio^{r} Bourne is allowed 50^{li} fo^{r} 30 passenge^{r}s agreed wth fo^{r} and not put aboard	£ 50		
More on maio^{r} Bourne, & m^{r} Downing's acc^{o} of ye 701–14–3 for losse that some passenge ye Chil: runne away. and othe^{r} & charge & losse	£ 91		
Of the Children come miscaried, othe^{r}s came not a shoare and runne away many payd but halfe passedge some none, and the Country at much Charge fo^{r} diet & curing diuers of them who were lame, & sick at least lost this way	£200		
Thei^{r} was giuen more to m^{r} Hibbens there	£ 30		
More what is giuen to m^{r} Winthrop fo^{r} his paynes	£ 40		
So it appeereth that the Country hath little benefit by all these moneyes, yea none considering how great trouble the Court hath had about it			
the ballance of this acc^{o} beeing but	£200	4	
	1553	4	2

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Mr. HORACE E. WARE communicated a Memoir of FRANCIS HENRY LINCOLN, which he had been requested to prepare for publication in the Transactions.

in the same paper of July 21, p. 2/2, and July 28, p. 2/2. The view was not advertised in the New England Courant; nor in the Boston Gazette of July 18 and August 1, which are the only issues of that paper I have seen.

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Francis H. Lincoln

Engraved for The Colonial Society of Massachusetts
from a portrait from life

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MEMOIR

OF

FRANCIS HENRY LINCOLN

BY

HORACE EVERETT WARE

NEW ENGLAND has always been fortunate in having a type of men of untiring and quiet but effective industry, a large measure of the results of whose labors have enured to the benefit of the community. These men are respected and loved by their neighbors, their public services are valued, and their business integrity and ability held in high estimation. But as to some of the men of this class it is essential to review their labors and certain features of their lives in some detail if we would adequately appreciate their character and their life work.

Our late associate Francis Henry Lincoln died in Boston, where he had undergone surgical treatment, on July 7, 1911. Mr. Lincoln was the son of the Hon. Solomon and Mehitable (Lincoln) Lincoln of Hingham, Massachusetts, in which town he was born April 14, 1846. Hingham was the place of his residence through life. His father, graduated at Brown University in 1822, was a lawyer by profession. When quite a young man he wrote the first History of Hingham, which was published in 1827. He served in both houses of the Massachusetts General Court, was United States Marshal for the District of Massachusetts, and cashier and subsequently president of the National Webster Bank of Boston. He performed many other services of a public nature and stood high in the confidence and regard of the community. He died December 1, 1881, at the age of seventy-seven. The other children of Solomon and Mehitable Lincoln were Solomon Lincoln and Arthur Lincoln. Both were older than Francis and predeceased him. They were both

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graduated at Harvard College and became lawyers, each of noted ability and character.

Francis H. Lincoln married Anna Frances Baker of Hingham June 1, 1875. A son, Francis Henry Lincoln, Jr., was born December 2, 1876. Mr. Lincoln's wife and son survive him.

Through his father Francis H. Lincoln was descended from Samuel Lincoln, who came from Hingham, England, and settled in Hingham, Massachusetts, in 1637. In his mother's line he was descended from Daniel Lincoln, who was in Hingham as early as 1644. Among his other ancestors were Richard Warren, who came in the Mayflower in 1620, and Robert Bartlett, who came in the Anne in 1623 and subsequently married Mary, daughter of Richard Warren. Three great-grandfathers, Jesse Bates, Welcome Lincoln, and Nathaniel Gill, were soldiers in the War of Independence.

Francis Henry Lincoln attended public and private schools at Hingham, until 1861, — the last four years at Derby Academy. In 1861 he entered the private Latin school of Epes Sargent Dixwell in Boston, where he continued until he entered Harvard College in 1863. He was graduated from Harvard with his class in 1867, and in 1871 received the degree of A.M. He was elected class secretary in 1873 and continued in that office until his death. During the thirty-eight years that he held this position, Mr. Lincoln maintained a constant correspondence with his classmates, kept up the pleasant memories of their former association, presided at their reunions, and performed the many other duties appertaining to the office. His work was admirably done and its value has been deeply appreciated by the men of his class.

After graduation Mr. Lincoln was for some time in the employ of the dry goods firm of A. Hamilton & Co., in Boston. For a short period, subsequent to the great fire of 1872, he was in the office of Alexander S. Porter, real estate and mortgage broker. In June, 1873, he entered the general real estate and insurance business on his own account, opening an office in Boston. In this business he was actively engaged during the rest of his life. It should be added that he constantly acted and advised in the settlement of estates and the administration of trusts.

In 1876 Mr. Lincoln became agent for Boston and vicinity of the Hingham Mutual Fire Insurance Company. Of this company he

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was chosen a director in 1905, and subsequently, in the same year, made president. The reputation which he acquired among insurance men for character and business ability may be judged from his having been elected, in 1910, president of the Massachusetts Mutual Fire Insurance Union, and, also in 1910, State vice-president of the National Association of Mutual Fire Insurance Companies.

A brief enumeration of Mr. Lincoln's services to the town of Hingham and its institutions and organizations gives us some idea of how generously he bestowed his time and labor for the public benefit.

He was a member of the school committee for nine years (1879–1888), serving also as secretary and treasurer during the entire period. Beginning with the special meeting on April 10, 1879, he was moderator of that and of all the subsequent special (but not annual) town meetings in Hingham during the years 1879, 1880, and 1881. In March, 1882, he was chosen moderator of the annual town meeting; and thereafter he presided at every town meeting, both annual and special, until March, 1907, when he declined a reëlection, making twenty-five years of continuous service as moderator at all the meetings of the town, besides presiding previously, as stated, at the special meetings. Chosen a trustee of the Hingham Institution for Savings in 1893, he was made its vice-president in 1906, and its president in 1908. In 1893 was published the second History of Hingham, Mr. Lincoln's father having been the author of the first History, as already stated. This second History, published by the town, was prepared and published under the supervision of a committee of which Francis H. Lincoln was a member, and for which he acted as treasurer. Of this History he wrote the following chapters, — Ecclesiastical History, Education, Public Conveyances, Fire Department, Public Institutions, Lodges and Societies, Native and Resident Lawyers, Native Ministers, and Miscellaneous Matters. In addition to writing the chapters named, Mr. Lincoln did the chief part of the editing. The work took ten years in the preparation. Elected a trustee of Loring Hall in 1882, for a period of several years, beginning in 1893, he served as secretary and treasurer. He was chosen, in 1900, clerk of the First Parish in Hingham; president of the Proprietors of Hingham Cemetery, 1900; president of the Wompatuck Club, an organization designed to bring together

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on occasions people of various walks in life, 1902–1903; trustee of the Hingham Public Library, 1903.

In matters of religion Mr. Lincoln was affiliated with the Unitarian denomination. He became a life member of the American Unitarian Association in 1892. Chosen its treasurer in 1898, he gave liberally of his care and attention to the duties of that office during the rest of his life. His co-workers in the administration of the affairs of the Association bear enthusiastic testimony to his tact and moderation, his resourcefulness in suggesting improved methods and measures, and his wisdom in council; while for completeness and accuracy, his accounts were models of their kind.

There are still other organizations or associations, mostly of a philanthropic or historical character, of which Mr. Lincoln was a member. Among these may be mentioned the New England Historic Genealogical Society; the Massachusetts Society of the Sons of the American Revolution, of which he was one of the board of managers, 1898–1901, and the historian, 1901–1906; the Bunker Hill Monument Association, of which he was treasurer from 1905 to the time of his decease; the Charity of Edward Hopkins, of which he was a trustee and on whose auditing committee he served for several years; the Society for Propagating the Gospel among the Indians and Others in North America; the Massachusetts Congregational Charitable Society; the Society for Promoting Theological Education; and the Society for Ministerial Relief.

At the time of his decease Mr. Lincoln held the offices hereinbefore respectively designated in several of the organizations named. He was elected a Resident Member of this Society April 19, 1893.

While the features in Mr. Lincoln's career of which I have spoken show that he was a man of marked capacity in business and affairs, it must be kept in mind that he was also a man appreciative of things meritorious in literature and in art. When in college he was a member of the Harvard Glee Club. That he was prominent in the organization is shown by his having been elected director, treasurer and president. For several years he sang in the choir of his church at Hingham. On occasions he wrote verses which he read to the enjoyment of the men of his class and of other friends. Were it not for the exacting duties the nature of which have been indicated, I believe he could have done work of superior kind for the reading public.

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The number of the activities in which Mr. Lincoln was engaged is striking, but we are even more impressed when we realize that all his work was well and thoroughly done. However diverse was their nature, he was easily equal to every position in which he was placed and to every duty which he undertook. Probably the consciousness of his ability contributed to make work come easier to him. His tact and good judgment were constantly in evidence when he was acting in coöperation with other men. While he was possessed in high degree of wit and the sense of humor, the way and occasions of their expression were guided by discretion and good taste. Fortunate in the home into which he was born, he was happy in the home which he established. For what he has been and for what he has done, Francis Lincoln will be held in grateful remembrance in his home, in the community in which he lived, in his college, and in the many organizations which he served.

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JANUARY MEETING, 1912

A STATED MEETING of the Society was held at No. 25 Beacon Street, Boston, on Thursday, 25 January, 1912, at three o'clock in the afternoon, the President, HENRY LEFAVOUR, LL.D., in the chair.

The Records of the last Stated Meeting were read and approved.

The CORRESPONDING SECRETARY reported that letters had been received from Mr. ARTHUR FAIRBANKS and Mr. CLARENCE SAUNDERS BRIGHAM, accepting Resident Membership.

Mr. ROGER BIGELOW MERRIMAN, Mr. FRED NORRIS ROBINSON, and Mr. CHESTER NOYES GREENOUGH, all of Cambridge, were elected Resident Members.

Mr. GEORGE LYMAN KITTREDGE read a paper on Cotton Mather's Election into the Royal Society.[1]

In the discussion which followed, Mr. WORTHINGTON C. FORD spoke of the draughts of many of Cotton Mather's letters in the library of the Massachusetts Historical Society, and offered copies of these for publication by the Colonial Society of Massachusetts in connection with the transcripts of Mather's letters to the Royal Society in the possession of our associate Mr. Frederick L. Gay. This generous offer was referred to the Committee of Publication.

Mr. HENRY H. EDES exhibited an original deed on parchment, given 14 January, 1656, by the Rev. John Wilson, first minister of the First Church in Boston, conveying to Jacob Sheafe a lot of land having a frontage of 42½ feet on State Street at the westerly corner of Devonshire Street (formerly

[1] See pp. 80–114, above.

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Crooked Lane and Wilson's Lane), the site being now covered in part by the Devonshire Building. The parchment bears the signatures of John and Elizabeth Wilson as grantors, of Edward Rawson and Hezekiah Usher as witnesses, and of Governor Bellingham, before whom the deed was acknowledged. The consideration was £70, and in less than a week after taking title to the estate Sheafe conveyed it to Hezekiah Usher for £80.[1]

On behalf of Mr. ALBERT MATTHEWS, Mr. Edes presented the following remarks:

In December, 1910, Mr. Horace E. Ware communicated a paper on Observation with the Dipping Needle at Boston in 1722.[2] The observation in question was made by Captain Othniel Beale. Writing in 1724, William Whiston stated that "Captain *James Jolly* set out in *July*, 1722. for *Archangel*, with one of my Dipping-Needles on Board;" and that "Captain *Othniel Beal* set out about the same Time for *Boston* in *New-England*, with the same Instrument."[3] When Mr. Ware's paper was going through the press, I thought it would be worth while to ascertain as precisely as possible when Captain Beale made his observation "in the Haven of *Boston*;" but as no allusions to Captain Beale could be found in Sewall's Diary or in other places where one would naturally look for them, the attempt proved unsuccessful. Recently, however, the needed data have turned up in an unexpected quarter. In the masterly paper to which we have just listened, Professor Kittredge alludes to a Henry Newman of London.[4] This was the Henry Newman who graduated at Harvard College in 1687, and to whom there are numerous references in the Harvard College records. From Thoresby's Diary we learn that Newman and Thoresby were intimate friends, and four of Newman's letters are printed in Thoresby's Correspondence. From these works it also appears that Newman was secretary of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge — a fact barely alluded to by Sibley.[5] This new information sent me to the History of the Society published in 1898, and there I found that Newman was chosen Secretary on June

[1] See Suffolk Deeds, ii. 334, 336.
[2] Publications, xiii. 183–197.
[3] xiii. 186.
[4] P. 94 note 2, above.
[5] Harvard Graduates, iii. 392.

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24, 1708, and retained the office for the long period of thirty-five years.[1] More interesting still was a series of letters written by Newman from 1722 to 1736.[2] One of these, written to Governor Shute on July 14, 1722, was sent "By Capt Beale;" another, written to Paul Dudley on the same day, states that a "Box of books" was "sent by Capt[n] Othniel Beale in the Gilbert;"[3] and a third, written to Cotton Mather on August 3, was also sent "By Capt[n] Beale."[4] Evidently, therefore, Beale sailed from London early in August, and it only remained to examine Boston newspapers to ascertain the date of his arrival here. In the Boston Gazette of September 24, 1722, is this entry: "*Custom House Boston, Sept.* 22. *Entered Inwards*, . . . Oth. Beale, . . . from London" (p. 2/2).[5] Whiston also says that "After Captain *Beal* had made and sent me these Observations, he pursued his Voyage to *Barbados*, and thence to *Charles Town* in *South Carolina;* at both which Places he made Observations; but the best at *Barbados*."[6] In the Boston Gazette of October 15, 1722, is this entry: "*Custom House Boston, Octob.* 13. . . . *Outward Bound*, . . . Othniel Beale for Barbadoes" (p. 4/1), and a similar entry is in the New England Courant of October 15, 1722 (p. 2/2); while in the Boston News Letter of October 15 among those "Entered Out" is "Othniel Beal for Barbadoes" (p. 2/2), and in the same paper of November 5 among those "Cleared Out" is "Beale . . . for Barbadoes" (p. 2/2). Thus Captain Beale reached Boston on or about September 22, 1722, and remained here several weeks.

Mr. HORACE E. WARE presented to the Society two letters, one from the Royal Society[7] and the other from the Lords

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[1] W. O. B. Allen and E. McClure, Two Hundred Years: History of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1698–1898, p. 134.

[2] Pp. 229–257.

[3] This recovers for us the name of Capt. Beale's ship, not given by Whiston.

[4] Allen and McClure, pp. 229, 231. Through the kindness of the Rev. George L. Gosling, Secretary of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, I am enabled to give the date of Henry Newman's death, which has hitherto eluded research. It occurred June 15, 1743.

[5] Beale's arrival is also noted in the New England Courant of September 24, p. 2/2; and in the Boston News Letter of the same date, p. 2/2.

[6] Publications, xiii. 187.

[7] Robert Harrison, Assistant Secretary of the Royal Society, writes, under date of July 20, 1911: "In regard to the matter about which you enquire in your

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Commissioners of the Admiralty,[1] stating that Captain Othniel Beale's original journal recording his observation with the dipping needle at Boston in 1722 was not preserved either in the archives of the Royal Society or in the Admiralty records from 1716 to 1736 in the Public Record Office.

Again on behalf of Mr. MATTHEWS, Mr. Edes made the following communication:

A romantic story is told about John and Margery Sullivan, the parents of General John Sullivan and Governor James Sullivan. John Sullivan, then about thirty-three years old, sailed from Limerick in 1723, and on the voyage his attention was attracted to a child, then only nine years of age, named Margery Brown. Arrived at York, Maine, Mr. Sullivan applied to a clergyman of that place and obtained a loan sufficient to pay to the master of the ship his own passage money and that of Margery. He appears to have adopted Margery, and in due time a young man applied to him for her hand in marriage; but, finding that Margery did not reciprocate the feeling, the request was denied. This story was related by the late Thomas C. Amory, to whom it was told by an aged lady in Berwick, Maine, who in turn had received it, some sixty years before, "from the lips of Master Sullivan himself, in the presence of his wife." Mr. Amory continues as follows:

Enlightened by this incident as to the nature of his own sentiments towards Margery, and discovering that he had himself already gained

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letter, I beg to say that we are unable to trace Capt. Beale's original Journals to which you refer. They do not appear to be among our Archives although we have much similar material. We have looked through our MS lists and printed catalogues and Indexes, but do not find any entry of such. I therefore think we may safely say they are not here. I would suggest it might be worth your enquiring whether they are at the Admiralty, as Molyneux was a Commissioner of the Admiralty. Or they might possibly be in Dublin, say at Trinity College, as the Molyneux were a Dublin family and Samuel was a Trinity College man."

[1] O. Murray, under date of December 20, 1911, writes from the Admiralty Office: "In reply to your inquiry as to Captain Othniel Beale's journal containing an account of his observations, I am to inform you that careful search has been made in the Public Record Office amongst the Admiralty Records from 1716 to 1736, and it is regretted that nothing can be traced relating to this matter."

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her affections, he made her, soon after, his wife. The disparity of age, for she was some twenty years younger than her husband, did not lessen their happiness; indeed, her greater dependence upon his superior experience served only to increase their mutual attachment. Although she did not at all times take kindly to his efforts to inspire her with a taste for knowledge, she was bright and sensible, and proved doubtless a better helpmate in the wilderness than if more highly educated. He was occasionally provoked by her violent ebullitions of temper, but she seems to have yielded ready obedience to his authority whenever he saw fit to exert it. Like all men possessed by any secret subject of sorrowful reflection, he shrunk from contention, and probably lived in his own recollections a life quite apart from his daily duties and employments, sharing but few of his deeper feelings even with his wife, who, from her own very different experiences in early days, could have had little power of understanding them.[1]

Mr. Amory speaks of Mrs. Sullivan's "violent ebullitions of temper," and says that Mr. Sullivan "shrunk from contention." Recently I stumbled on a singular advertisement which, inserted in a Boston newspaper in 1743, shows that Mr. Sullivan not only "shrunk from contention," but was once actually driven away from home by a violent ebullition of temper on the part of his wife. The document, at once curious and pathetic, is as follows:

ADVERTISEMENTS.

My dear and loving Husband,

'YOur abrupt Departure from me, and forsaking of me your Wife, and tender Babes, which I now humbly acknowledge and confess I 'was greatly if not wholly the Occasion of, by my too[2] rash and unad-'vised Speech and Behaviour towards you; for which I now in this 'publick Manner humbly ask your Forgiveness, and hereby promise 'upon your Return, to amend and reform, and by my future loving and 'obedient Carriage towards you, endeavour to make an Atonement for 'my past evil Deeds, and manifest to you and the whole World that I 'am become a new Woman, and will prove to you a loving, dutiful and 'tender Wife. If you do not regard what I have above written, I pray 'you to hearken to what your Pupil *Joshua Gilpatrick* hath below sent 'you,[3] as also to the Lamentations and Cries of your poor Children,

[1] Life of James Sullivan (1859), i. 10–12: cf. i. 14.

[2] Misprinted "two."

[3] Gilpatrick's letter is not printed in the Boston Evening Post.

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'especially the eldest, who (tho' but seven Years old [1]) all rational People 'really conclude, that unless you speedily return, will end in his Death; 'and the Moans of your other Children [2] are enough to affect any humane 'Heart. — And why, *my dear Husband*, should a few angry and unkind 'Words, from an angry and fretful Wife (for which I am now paying full 'dear, having neither eat, drank nor slept in quiet, and am already reduced 'almost to a Skeleton, that unless you favour me with your Company, 'will bereave me of my Life) make you thus to forsake me and your 'Children? How can you thus for so slender a Cause as a few rash Words 'from a simple and weak Woman, cause you to part from your tender 'Babes, who are your own Flesh and Blood? Pray meditate on what I 'now send, and reprieve your poor Wife and eldest Son (who take your 'Departure so heavily) from a lingering tho' certain Death, by your 'coming home to them again as speedily as you can, where you shall be 'kindly received, and in the most submissive Manner by your Wife, 'who is ready at your Desire, to lay her self at your Feet for her past 'Miscarriage, and am with my and your Children's kind Love to you, 'your loving Wife, *Margery Sullivan.*

'*Summersworth, New-Hampshire, July* 11. 1743.[3]

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[1] Benjamin.

[2] There were then three children: the above named Benjamin, Daniel (born about 1738; died June 21, 1785), and John (born February 17 or 28, 1740; died January 23, 1795). James was born April 22, 1744, and died December 10, 1808.

[3] Boston Evening Post, July 25, 1743, p. 2/1. The date of John Sullivan's death is usually given incorrectly. On May 25, 1847, Elias Nason copied the inscription on the stone at Berwick and it was printed in the New England Historical and Genealogical Register, i. 376. The stone has since been removed from Berwick, Maine, to Durham, New Hampshire. It bears the following inscription, kindly copied for me by Mr. W. D. Spencer, town clerk of Berwick:

> Here are buried the Bodies of John Sullivan, & Margery his wife. He was born in Limeric in Ireland in the year 1692, & died in the year 1796.
>
> She was born in Cork in Ireland in the year 1714, & died in 1801.
>
> This marble is placed to their memory by their son James Sullivan.

Governor Sullivan made a singular error, for John Sullivan died in 1795 and must, if the obituary notices are correct, have been born in 1689 or 1690. This notice appeared in the New Hampshire Gazette of June 30, 1795: "At Berwick, Mr. JOHN SULLIVAN, aged 106, father of the late Judge Sullivan, of Durham, and the present Judge Sullivan of Boston" (p. 3/4). The following notice appeared in the Oracle of the Day, Portsmouth, New Hampshire, of Saturday, June 27, 1795: "*At Berwick, on Sunday last, Mr. JOHN SULLIVAN, aged* 106, *father of the late Judge Sullivan, of Durham, and the present*

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Judge Sullivan of Boston" (p. 3/4). A longer notice, giving the exact date of his death, was printed in the Columbian Centinel of July 1, 1795:

At *Berwick*, in the District of *Maine*, on Saturday, the 20th June ultimo, *Mr. John Sullivan, aged one hundred and five years.* His life had been usefully employed in the business of a School-master, and his conduct was marked with integrity and uprightness. Oppressed with an unusual weight of years, he ardently wished for, and cheerfully anticipated the moment, which should release him from the ills incident to such an advanced stage of life. A firm reliance on the mercy of God, through the gospel dispensation, afforded patience, resignation, and tranquility, to the last hours of his life (p. 3/1).

Shortly after the January meeting was in type, Mr. T. Russell Sullivan informed me that Margery Sullivan's advertisement had been known to Mr. Thomas C. Amory, though that fact would not be inferred from the many books and articles on the Sullivan family w.itten by Mr. Amory, and that it had been printed by Miss G. E. Meredith in her Family of John Sullivan of Berwick, pp. 34–35. As, however, that volume was not published but only privately printed (in 1893), the advertisement is allowed to stand here.

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FEBRUARY MEETING, 1912

A STATED Meeting of the Society was held at No. 25 Beacon Street, Boston, on Thursday, 29 February, 1912, at three o'clock in the afternoon, the President, HENRY LEFAVOUR, LL.D., in the chair.

The Records of the last Stated Meeting were read and approved.

The CORRESPONDING SECRETARY reported that letters had been received from Mr. FRED NORRIS ROBINSON, Mr. ROGER BIGELOW MERRIMAN, and Mr. CHESTER NOYES GREENOUGH, accepting Resident Membership.

Mr. LINCOLN NEWTON KINNICUTT of Worcester, and Mr. SAMUEL ELIOT MORISON of Boston, were elected Resident Members.

The PRESIDENT announced the death at Cambridge, on the twenty-second instant, of the Rev. Dr. EDWARD HENRY HALL, a Resident Member; and Mr. ANDREW MCF. DAVIS paid a tribute to his memory.

Mr. HENRY H. EDES called attention to a letter written March 13 or 17, 1782, by Mary Washington to her son George.[1]

Mr. JOHN W. FARWELL exhibited a well-preserved and unrecorded deed on parchment of land in Dorchester, executed in 1694, which bore several interesting signatures, among them that of Judge Sewall.

[1] The letter is printed, and also reproduced in facsimile, in Libbie's Catalogue, January 10–11, 1912, pp. 95–96; and in Goodspeed's Catalogue, January, 1912, No. 90.

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[illegible] following [illegible]

[illegible] LEE AND SAMUEL SEWALL [illegible] THE INDIANS

[illegible] Pastor of the Church at [illegible], [illegible] Nehemiah Grew, M.D. [illegible] a long document, [illegible] numbered questions. The first series [illegible] sent to Harvard College; the [illegible] had to [illegible] with the Indians of N[illegible] [illegible] be extant, but Lee's [illegible] [illegible] British Museum (Sloane MS. [illegible]), [illegible] dated at [illegible] 25, 16[illegible] [illegible] to Samuel Sewall at Boston, [illegible] forward it to Grew. This appears from the [illegible] where we read in Lee's hand:

> [illegible] the very learned Doctor
> Nehemiah Grew M D at
> [illegible] Lodgings in [illegible]
> L[illegible]
> Capt Sewall [illegible]
> [illegible] to
> [illegible], with my service.

Under [illegible] Sewall has written:

> [illegible] these Observations
> [illegible] 16[illegible]

Under date of F[illegible] 5, 16[illegible], Sewall notes in His Letter-Book "To Dr. Nehemiah Grew, including Mr. Lee's Observations, and some [illegible] animadversions of my own [illegible] Sewall's [illegible] also found [illegible] MSS. ([illegible], [illegible] 140 [illegible]) [illegible] Both letters are now printed for the first time.[illegible]

[illegible] of course formed [illegible] of the [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] It is on a four-page sheet [illegible] page [illegible]

[illegible] Publications of this Society, x. 32.

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Nehemiah Grew

Engraved for The Colonial Society of Massachusetts from a rare contemporary print

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Nehemiah Grew, M.D. (1641–1712), was the son of Obadiah Grew, D.D. (1607–1689). Sewall made the acquaintance of the Grews, father and son, when he was in England in 1689. Under April 4th of that year he notes in his almanac: "Dr. Nehemiah Grew son of Dr. Obadiah Grew formerly of Baliol Colledg, Oxford,[1] lives at Racket Court in Fleet-Street near Shoe-Lane. — Leave a Ps[alm]. B[ook]. there." On April 6th he called on Dr. Obadiah Grew at Coventry, and was "very candidly and kindly received," and on the 8th he "din'd with Dr. Obadia Grew and his Daughter and 2 Kinswomen."[2] On the 20th he records in his Diary that he gave one copy of "Revolution"[3] to "Dr. Grew of Coventry" and one to "Dr. Nehemiah Grew," and on the 24th he remarks: "Writt to Dr. Grew, inclosing my Psalm-Book, in Turkey-Leather, and 4 of Mr. Cotton Mather's Sermons."[4] On July 4th, he copies into his Diary a farewell letter "to Dr. Obadia Grew of Coventry."[5]

Since both Mr. Lee and Dr. Grew have been deemed worthy of a place in the Dictionary of National Biography, it is unnecessary to dilate upon them here. For convenience, however, I may note that Lee, after a distinguished career in the mother country, sailed from Gravesend on June 24, 1686, and arrived in Boston on August 22d.[6] He was called to the Church at Bristol on November 9th of the same year, and began his labors there on April 10, 1687.[7] Late in 1691 he sailed for England with Captain John Foy. The ship was captured by the French and taken to St. Malo,[8] where Lee died in December.[9] "In his Return for *England*," writes Cotton Mather, "the *French* took him a *Prisoner*, and uncivilly detaining him, he died in *France*; where he found the Grave of an *Heretick*, and was therein (after some sort, like *Wickliff* and *Bucer*) made a *Martyr* after

[1] Obadiah Grew was of Balliol College; Nehemiah was of Pembroke Hall, Cambridge.

[2] Diary, i. 304–305.

[3] The Revolution in New England Justified.

[4] Diary, i. 250.

[5] i. 262.

[6] Sewall, Diary, i. 148.

[7] Wilfred H. Munro, History of Bristol, 1880, pp. 130, 131.

[8] Under date of January 26, 1691–2, Sewall remarks: "Foy (in whom went Mr. Lee) taken into France." On Captain Foy see the Transactions of this Society, x. 112 note 2.

[9] Lee's will was proved April 13, 1692, and in the Probate Act Book the testator is said to have died in France ("in regno Gallie def[unc]ti"). See Waters, Gleanings, i. 470–471.

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his Death."[1] The reader will remember that Mather's third wife (Lydia, the widow of John George) was Lee's daughter.[2]

It is an odd circumstance that, in the letter now first printed, Lee himself seems to forecast his own fate. In a postscript,[3] after describing bayberry candles, he remarks:

> I have made some & might have sent you a candle for your Epictetus Studies: but I feare as yet they will saile into France if you send us not some Frigots to convey them & us to you: yt may be of great comfort to ye Country under y^r^ many dangers & likewise I should hope to see you by ye leave of o^r^ gracious God but I dare not yet venture in ships of no force, who run into S. Macloviǫ[4] to see yt port: The Ld ďď us.

Mr. Lee was a scholar of wide and profound attainments. He left a noble collection of books behind him when he sailed for England. It was dispersed after his death. A great part of it came into the hands of Duncan Cambell, the Boston bookseller, whose catalogue of the collection may be found in the Boston Public Library.[5] I have seen volumes that once belonged to Lee in the Boston Athenæum, in the New York Society Library, and in the library of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

Mr. Lee says, at the end of his letter, that he received most of his intelligence from "one Mr Arnold a practitioner in Physick of good request in Rhode Island, who hath conversed [i. e., associated] much with the Indians." This was beyond a doubt Caleb Arnold, of Portsmouth, Rhode Island, the son of Governor Benedict Arnold (1615–1678), of Providence and Newport, who was the son of William Arnold (1587–c.1676) of Providence. Caleb Arnold was born December 19, 1644, and died February 9, 1719. His will was proved March 9, 1719. The inventory of his estate includes books valued at £17,

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[1] Magnalia, 1702, Book iii. pt. iv. chap. 6, p. 224.

[2] See a letter to her from the Rev. Dr. Benjamin Colman (February 7, 1700–01) in the Transactions of this Society, viii. 247–250.

[3] P. 152, below.

[4] S. Maclovius, i. e. St. Malo in Brittany.

[5] The Library of the late Reverend and Learned Mr. Samuel Lee . . . Exposed at the most Easy Rates, to Sale, by *Duncan Cambell*, Bookseller at the *Dock-head* over-against the Conduit. *Boston* Printed for Duncan Cambell . . . 1693. (Prince Library.) Dr. Samuel A. Green gives the title-page in his Ten Fac-simile Reproductions relating to Old Boston and Neighborhood (1901). Cf. 2 Massachusetts Historical Proceedings, x. 540–544.

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gallipots, vials, three cases of bottles, mortar, pestle, and lancets. He describes himself as "practicioner of physic." [1]

In 1687 Dr. Nehemiah Grew sent a set of queries relating to the Virginia Indians to the Rev. John Clayton. It was much shorter than that which he afterwards sent to Lee. Clayton's replies are printed in the Philosophical Transactions.[2]

The notes which I append to Lee's letter are of course merely intended to be suggestive, not to exhaust any of the many subjects which he broaches.[3] I have often referred to Mr. C. F. Adams's edition of Morton's New English Canaan, but I wish here to make a particular acknowledgment of indebtedness to his learning and industry.

I

[Rev. Samuel Lee to Nehemiah Grew, M.D.]
[First page: Sloane MS. 4062, fol. 235 a]

[I h]ave[4] sent you such replies as I could collect in this [part of the] world to yo[r] Questions; praying yo[r] candid acceptance [b]riefe answers.

[1. In New Engl]and[5] there is a very pretty [ ] a handsome library & severall [c]onveniencies for Scholars at a place now called, Cambridge about 5 or 6 miles frō Boston & is styled, the Colledge, hath a president & some fellowes, It was given by one M[r] Harvard & calld by his name. They take degrees of Batchelor & M[r] of Arts but proceed no further. It was instituted by y[e] Governour & Magistrates of y[e] Massachussets Colony in the yeere. 1642. as I [ ][6] not much

[1] J. O. Austin, Genealogical Dictionary of Rhode Island, Albany, 1887, pp. 242–243.

[2] No. 454, xli. 143–162.

[3] The following works are sometimes cited by the authors' names merely, to save repetition of titles: — Josselyn, An Account of Two Voyages to New England, 2d ed., 1675; Morton, New English Canaan, 1637; Smith, A Map of Virginia, 1612; Strachey, The Historie of Travaile into Virginia Britannia, ed. by R. H. Major for the Hakluyt Society, 1849; Wood, New Englands Prospect, ed. of 1635.

[4] Brackets indicate words or letters lost by the tearing off of the upper corners of the sheet. The words within brackets are supplied by conjecture.

[5] The word *England* is certain; part of the *gl* may be made out.

[6] Here the MS. is not damaged, but there is a short (or abbreviated) word illegible after *I*. The clause *as I* [ ] is interlined, with a caret. It seems to belong to what precedes.

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salary: (2) [1] the Revenue of Charleston Fery goes in p^t^ to it I think. (3) about 40 or 50 students: but stands much at a stay by reason of changes & troubles.

4 [2] No Corporation in a strict forme: no degrees in physick or Licentiates regular (5) no approbation, but by their patients: & the physitians are great patients in y^r^ purses. (6) no Lectures or instructors but their owne pia or dura mater — salit in lævâ parte mamillæ. (7) Practitioners are laureated gratis with a title feather of Doctor. Potecaries, surgeons & midwifes are dignified acc. to successe: (8) they use the London dispensatory at pleasure or any other, tyed to none.

9. Apotheciaries make mithridate without inspection for they have it frō London. (10) They are punisht wth noli me tangere or a persicaria siliquosa to snap ag^t^ them, if they faile. (11) I know of no licenses: but are Licentiâ deteriores. (12) 3 or 4 in that great towne wch is about a mile in Length & full of people, counted by some about 7000^d^ [3] of all sortes as I think I have heard if not more. (13) There is a pretty hospitall upon the cōmon for ye poore. may containe it may be 30 or 40 or more. (14) As for fees no great matters, ad libitū, or like o^r^ cooks fees in Oxōn on friday nights. (15) Physitians may make or buy or send to the Potecaries. Quod libet, licet. (16) Potecaries doe practise what they will. physick & Surgery. (17) Barbing is a trade by it self: & tooth drawing is used at pleasure. (18) No Company, yt I know of; unles at ye Taverne. (19) I know not above 3 or 4 & not concerned by authority. Things are very raw here in these cases. udum & molle lutum. (20) Apprentices serve for yeeres as any other trade

21 [4] They visit whom they please. Surgeons are of no Fraternity or

---

[1] The figure 2 stands in the margin, — the lines being arranged thus:

as I [ ]
the yeere. 1642. ∧ not much salary: the
2 Revenue of Charleston Fery goes in p^t^ to it
3 I think. about 40 or 50 students: but stands

Since it would be absurd to try to reproduce this arrangement (which continues throughout the first series of replies), I have transferred the figure, in each case, to a place immediately before the reply to which it belongs. In the second series of replies (about the Indians), no such transfers are necessary, for Mr. Lee has put each figure where it belongs, not running his replies together so much as in the first series.

[2] Here the figure 4 stands where it belongs. It is reasonable to begin a new paragraph here. Mr. Lee seldom indents, but I have done so wherever I thought he intended a paragraph.

[3] "7000^d^" is repeated by Lee in the margin, the 7 in the text being unclear.

[4] Here the 21 in the margin stands before its own reply, and I begin a new

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guild but y^r^ guelt what they can get. not many. & no qualification but frō their owne chest & boxe

24[1] I thinke no bills of mortality at least not printed. but some observation in ye registers. (25) of midwifes every one takes whom they please. (26) I knew one Dr Avery since deceased, a man of pretty ingenuity: who from the Ars veterinaria fell into some notable skill in physick and midwifery & invented some usefull instrum^ts^ for that case. & besides was a great inquirer and had skill in Helmont & chemicall physick & he had one notion wch Ile mention (tho' alien from your enquiries) that if a ships planks & boards be laid from sterne to head in the graine as it grew from root to top: it were a great[2] facilitation to its quicker moti[on thro' ye water] & so I end the 1st row of enquiri[es.]

As to the Indians

1.[3] Generally flaking black hai[re. they have no] beards or thin haires.

2 not so early.

3 more flat and dank faced but [ ] & tawny colourd: like the Tartarians. & I doe humbly judge that they come ptly from ye African Phœnicians as may seeme by Diod. Sic. l. 5. & ptly frō ye Easterne Tartars from Japan-ward It being as yet questionable whether Japan be an Iland or joynd to the Norwest of America. καὶ ἐσσαμένοισι πύθεσθαι.[4]

4. Much at one: only ye legs & hands are much smaller.

5. From 4^f^ & ½ to 6 & that rarely few so high or above.

6. generally leane & lank

7. No hermaphrodites. Some Monstrous births but few & none crooked.

8. much at one: but short of it, seldome till 18 or 19. [9][5] none (10) much at one. The English have some times put some to nurse to them & done well

11 nothing extraordinary. (12) not much but ye Negroes here are

---

paragraph accordingly. There are no 22 and 23. Apparently Nos. 21–23 are all included under 21. No. 22 may begin with "Surgeons" and No. 23 with "not many."

[1] Here 24 is placed like 21 (see last note), and I begin a fresh paragraph.

[2] Here the first column of the first page ends.

[3] From this point there is no further complication of the kind described in note 4, p. 146, above, and I am able to follow the MS., which puts each figure before its proper reply.

[4] So in the MS., the Greek, however, being written in abbreviated fashion (see p. 166, below). We should read καὶ ἐσσομένοισι πυθέσθαι.

[5] The brackets are in the MS. and the 9 is plain.

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very rank hardly endurable (13) nothing at all, but in consumptions. 14. much more then we, by eating beanes & Indian corne 15. rarely, nor the English but little 16. when in great anger, they look swarthy & black, in other cases, not at all. 17. No weepers under ye greatest torments, nor cry so much as, oh; tho' ye cut y^m^ in pieces. Onely ye women in a little measure. I knew an Indian weep bitterly at a funerall.

18 No foole among Indians: but some borne deafe, & so, dumb: but very ingenious to demonstrate y^r^ mindes

19. Great memories, especially in injuries

20. None in ye world, its thought like y^m^ & they count him all one woman that cries out of any

21. very patient in fasting, & will gird in their bellies till they meet with food; but then none more gluttons or drunk on occasion. Theyle eat 10 times in 24 houres, when they have a beare or a deare & are great fishermen.

22 Can't speak to it: but think they doe not

23. Its uncertaine. they sleep & eat at all times & require as much as we

24. Seldome or rarely. 25 Some have tunable voices & sing finely in their half Christian meetings but want method

26. varies as dyet 27. beare 3 or 4 times as much physick as ye English in all cases. 28. much as ye English

29. Quick in motion: but not such strength as the English unles these shou'd degenerate[1] by hot & cold excesses & dyet

[Second page: fol. 235 b]

[30. Mo]re old women then men. wars & [other] causes wasts y^m^. many men there be [of] great age 80, 90 & some of 100 [that carry] baskets on y^r^ backs at a great [pace bu]t usually they burden their [old wiv]es. wch is unkindly 31. little or [none]. 32 rather barren, no twins that we heare of 33. Same exactly, variatis variandis 34. hardly marriageable till 18 or 19 or till y^r^ menses flow & thats late (35) not so long as the English. 36. The French poxe & the Sebeniack or Consumption & y^ts^ very mortall, else few diseases. a pure aire generally.

37 That dreadfull disease & arrow of God is not knowne here, nor as I can heare in all America. Q. whether the many minerals especially

[1] Here there is a slight defect, a little piece of the lower right-hand corner of the leaf being cut or torn off. There can be no doubt that "degenerate" is right. The first two letters are preserved and the tops of most of the others.

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Quicksilver & Arsenicall fumes may not extinguish such atomes would be inquired. as tis said 40 mile round the quicksilver mines in Friuli. or what other latent providence of God is in it, is worth yor Learned inquisition If you think good. nor is the gout, nor rupture, nor Scurvy nor rickets observd amg y^{m}

38 Small pox very frequent & dangerous

39 not observed. 40 It is cōmon, & calld cosh-caska. 41. not at all.

42. no contagious distemper: but the consumption: from wch they fly, as being catching among y^{m}, but not among ye English

43. They use two herbs, wch are rank poyson the one like chervil, ye other like columbines: but no names can we tell: they are very secret in such things. pownd y^{m} & drink y^{m} in water. & swell till they dye in 6, 8, or 12 houres

44. None but the Ratlesnake: wch turnes all the body into a speckled hew in a few houres, with great paine, tongues & heads work with the poyson

45. never: they have little or no love, but are almost like the beasts.

46. being not acquainted with their waies: onely heare, yt conjuration is frequent among y^{m}. & then one appeares like a rattlesnake & sometimes like a white-headed eagle (47.) None (48.) none but ye negroes much afflicted. (49) they have generally very easy labour (50) have not heard or observed it. (51) not long. For they goe a digging Clams at 3 dayes end (52) we know little or nothing of any such matter. (53) nor can say but little to that. (54.) none. (55) none but whats cōmon to ours. (56) not so difficult. & mostly but little at all & their teeth continue longer. They eat not so much sugar: wch being but ye salt of the cane impaires o^{r} sweet teeth exceedingly [1]

57. Not observably. no [ ]

58. A very cōmon distemp[er] kernels & breakings out [ ]

59 Accidentally as other nati[ons but not] hæreditary (60) Autumne genera[lly.]

61 none. 62. distemps usually follow but not any ꝑticular one

63 Norwest cures all. South east is unwholsome southwest when strong & with a seaturne breeds headakes & nervous distempers.

64. more changeable & unconstant then I ever found in England. contrary to ye usuall saying that Ilanders weathers are most various.

65. We haue not had it here: nor did I think of bringing one, cōming in some hast: but find both heat & cold to be far more impetuous & hardly tolerable at times. severall dyed in ye y. 1689 of heat.

[1] First column of second page ends.

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66. Any sort of meat they can get. None comes amisse & eat of all sorts night & day: & gird in y^r^ bellies till they get some as before no curiosity in dressing. lay it before the fire, & dry y^r^ fish & venison & ye usuall stuff is, Indian corne powdrd & mixt with water & call it No-cake by an English terme

67. As to swine flesh they eat it freely when they can get it & ordinarily sell it for Rum. swine at sea townes feed on Fish & are not so wholsom

68. Nothing more frequent then gorging when they have it & are beastly drunkards. Cry & howle extremely when they are drunk, I think I have heard them about half a mile severall times

69. Their onely sauce is hunger.

70. Their bread (such as 'tis) is made of green or old corne, baked under ye ashes. & call it, pone. It must be alwaies new, never holds 2 daies together

71. water onely: unles they get Rum or brandy. 72 most notoriously. 73 when sick they drink water hot or y^r^ herbs in it infused or boild. rather

74. for diversion: Their tobacco is like henbane & take it in a Lobster or crabs claw

75. They wash them & put up their heeles close to their nates & tye y^m^ downe to a board & 'tis thought is ye cause they never are bursten. & when fowle wipe y^m^ with mosse & tye them up againe & carry y^m^ at y^r^ backs

76. Suckle a yeere comonly & feed y^m^

77 with any thing ye child will eat & usually with clams. 78 Never but if the mother dye: the men give them oysters to suck. (79) They have many poysons & are expert in y^r^ use. The women often poyson y^m^ selves & children: if y^r^ husbands will not owne them.

80. Roots & herbs

81. It's a question not fit to be spoken to or inquired of y^m^. pardon this Query for any answer

82. what they please.

83 a sort of football & dancing & a kind of dice made of plum-stones before the English came.

[Third page: fol. 236 a]

[84. b]ut a string to tye [ ] Now some begin to [y^e^] English 85. Skins turnd [ ] & now are much affected to [ ]ew truck in . or any blewes.

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86. Use hot baths on all occasions by the water side, heat a stone & put it into ye hole where they sit & in the height of y^r^ sweat leap or run into the water (87. no other (88 none at all, (89 Seldome or never wash but greaze y^r^ faces & when mourners black them

90. physick is practisd, by y^r^ priests & conjurers who 1st conjure to knowe whether they shall dye. 91. We think not 92. all in Generall but 1st they inquire of y^r^ oracle & if that saies they shall dye, they use nothing. 93. none 94. no more judgment then a horse. 95. No thing at all: onely w^t^ their oraacle informes y^m^ being usually a rattle-snake, a crow or a hawke or &c

96. Of simples: herbs or roots in water & drink it

97. plants onely, roots chiefly: they have one excellent root, called by us a snakeroot but is indeed no other then what Parkinson Trib. 2. c. 25. §. 6. calls. Helleborus niger Saniculæ folio, major. pag. 214. ed. 1640. wch they use in decoctions & truly is an excellent Alexipharmacon in all sudden & dangerous fevers, to drive poyson from the heart

98. Little or none, but Rakoons oile for aches 99. none. 100. Nor milk till the English came 101 None at all; I think they know nothing of it 102. They use a root called now by them since the English came by ye name of Sleep & smoake it among y^r^ Tobacco

103. They use a root for philters: but will not tell us, what is its name or discover it. (104 None at all (105. They pownd ye herb or root & boile it in water & when in hast, use it cold.

106. None either purgative or vomiting, onely as s^d^ before of decoctions. 107. None at all but when they poyson psons. onely y^r^ powwawes use the bark of a tree to vomit psons 7 daies before they are admitted into that order. If they cannot beare their poysonous vomits, they dye & as for y^r^ usuall physick they use nothing but roots & barks. & specially of a certaine sort of alder, wch gives a notable vomit

108. None at all. but Cure the poxe easily with a root wch they will not tell

109. If any, in fevers. Not consumptions They have no dropsies nor Quartan agues

110. No rule at all, let it work as 'twill

111. by chewing what root they use, & wth ye masht root, anoint y^r^ joints & some they swallowe downe, No plague in this Country blessed be God onely violent & somewhat virulent fevers[1]

112. Snakeroot. wch I s^d^ befor[e] is ye same with ye 6th Hellebor.

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[1] First column of third page ends.

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. . . trifling medicines] none rational, or worth

. . . a P . . . such a thing & can . . .
. . . he digs a hole in ye sand & puts a herb into it
. . . the water more. They have many evil charmes
. . . to cure diseases
. . . but very little manuall operation.
. . . None, but searing a place with sucking
. . . ji

. . . at Mount Hope.

. . . from one Mr Arnold a practitioner in
. . . who hath conversed much with

Yo's to serve you in any
. . . Service to my power
& . . . pray divine
. . . on yor labours
. . .

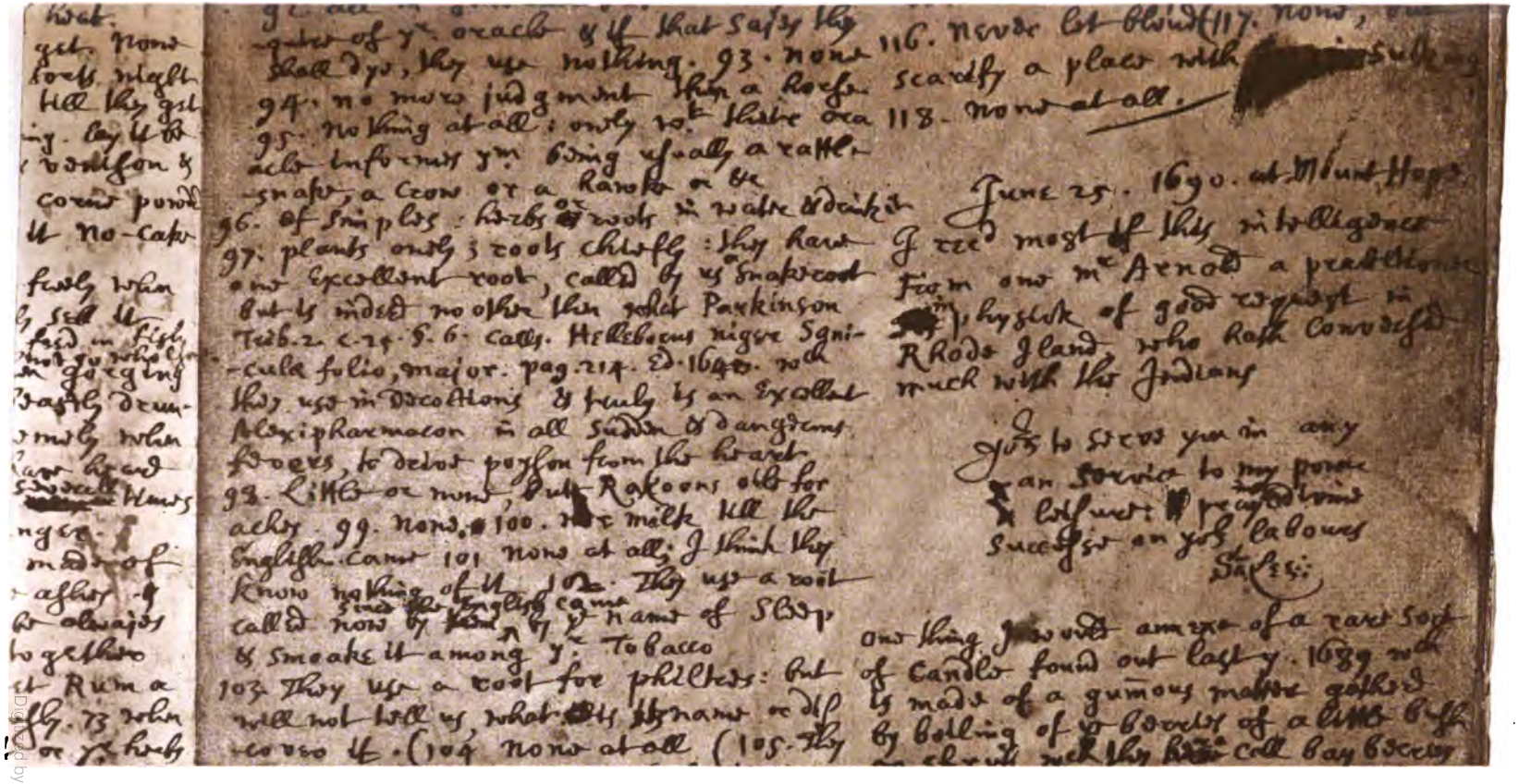
. . . of a new sort of Candle found out last . . .
. . . of a . . . berri . . .
. . . but I take it to be
. . . It is . . .
. . . & might have
. . . as yet there will
. . . if you . . .
. . . may be of . . .
. . . & . . . of gracious
God but I dare not yet . . . who run into S
Maclovio[1] to . . .
y . . . of . . . for candles
have ye Loadstone . . .
There is a root wch they call . . .
. . . I have seen it dry: but not as . . .
. . . Some judge it a sort of . . .

---

[1] St Maclovius i. e. St Malo in Bretagne.

[2] Ms. obscure.

[3] This arrangement is confusing. . . .
. . . "Gentian" appears to belong with . . .



Letter of the Rev. Samuel Lee to Dr. Nehemiah Grew

Engraved for The Colonial Society of Massachusetts
from the Original among the Sloane Mss (4062:235) in the British Museum

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[Fourth Page: Fol. 236 b]

For the very Learned Doctor
Nehemiah Grew M.D. at
his Lodging in Fleetstreet.
London.
Capt. Saywell I pray inclose
it in yo^{rs} when you write to
him, with my service.[1]

Recd these Observations
Jany 24. $169\frac{0}{1}$[2]

II

[Samuel Sewall to Nehemiah Grew][3]
[First Page: Sloane MS. 4067, fol. 140 a]

[I][4] recd y^{e} Reu^{d} Mr. Lee's Observations but y[^{e} lett]er y^{t} inclos'd them was pleas'd to ask my [adu]ice of th[ ] that by my experience of y^{e} American N[ati]ves in t[ ] Travail, and by the Information of [o]thers, I find the [ ] Eye & Hair; both black: excepting [t]he hoary head pro[ ] of y^{e} Foreskin, 'tis the Indians custom to flay off the h[air from the head of] such of their Enemies as they kill in Fight. I have sent s[ome of the scalps to] Charles Morton a Physician who lodges at K. W$^{m's}$ Head in Bp Gate [ ] y^{e} Left hand as you goe to y^{e} Gate. N° 74. The Indians now use English pipes[5] [for] y^{e} most part, sometimes Stone, or Wood garded in y^{e} inside with Pewter I [know] not what shift they might formerly make; as they used Axes of Stone of w[hich] I have one by me, and till'd their Ground with ye shells

[1] In Lee's hand.

[2] In Sewall's hand.

[3] The manuscript is tattered and soiled. Many words and letters have disappeared or are illegible. I have indicated such places by brackets, supplying what is missing as well as I could. A careful scrutiny of the manuscript enabled me, in August, 1909, to decipher some things that are unreadable in a photograph.

[4] The leaf containing the text of the letter has lost the upper corners and has also suffered some mutilation on the upper and the right-hand edge. At the beginning, however, only the salutation and the first word or so (perhaps *I*) seem to have disappeared.

[5] The word *pipes* is practically legible. The reading is established beyond question by Lee's reply to No. 74 (see p. 150, above).

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of Fish. At N[arra]ganset (formerly ye chief place of Indians in N E) One gave me an account [of] a Dance held by a great woman, who had met with many Adversities in [y^e^] Loss of near Relations &c A Day & place was apointed y^t^ so persons far [& near] might be present, Considerable Provision made for Entertainment of the[m a]f[ter] yr fashion. When the Company was met, she made several Speeches to them importing her former Calamity, and hopes of future Prosperity, [ ] now and then danc'd a considerable time, gave many Gifts, and had a new Name given to herself. When a Maid's Menses are first taken notice of, a little house, or rather Tent call'd a Wigwam, is provided for her, [and] she is kept apart by herself. The Hair upon the forheads of the young Females is cut in such a fashion, from time to time, that one may defie what form Nature has plac'd them in. N° 63. Mr. Lee lives at Mount Hope or Bristow, a place fifty miles off, upon the Sea, which bears south[erly or] souwest; whereas the Sea is to ye Eastward of us. So that what is sp[oke] of the Souwest Wind, must be interpreted of that place: for [ ] 'tis a pleasant wind: West, & Norwest very Serene. And hardly any [are] bad with us from South East to North. Our North-East brings the [most] uncomfortable Storms, so that 'tis almost become a Proverb, *North East, Neither good for Man nor Beast.* 'Twould be a vain thing to goe about to dissemble the severity of our Winters; only most ancient [inha]bitants judge there is an abatement of their former rigor; the clear[ing of] ye Ground of Wood being the cause of it, as is conjectur'd. Our H[arbour be]ing near ye Sea, and being Salt Water, is not easily frozen. Capt. W[ear [1] came] away from Cows ye first Decr and arriv'd* here ye 24th of Jan^y^ [ ] open Chan̄el, th̄ have had a

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[The following remark is written in the left-hand margin of the page:]

[* T]wo more Ships are since arriv'd y^t^ sail^d^ from Plim° xr. 19.[2] bringing supplies of Arms and Amūnition [in] which y^e^ mercifull Goodness of God is much to be acknowledged, considering our great want, and diffi[culty] of the Winter Season.

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[1] Part of the *W* is preserved. The following entry in Sewall's Diary (i. 340) supplies the captain's name: — "Satterday, Jan. 24, 169$\frac{0}{1}$. Wear comes in; came from Cows Decr 1." Captain Wear is several times mentioned by Sewall (Diary, i. 277, 357; Letter-Book, i. 43, 44, 45, 46, 118, 128).

[2] I. e., December 19. One of these two ships was evidently that whose coming is recorded by Sewall in his Diary, February 2, 1690–1 (i. 340): — "Capt. Brown arrives at Marblehead, came from Plimouth 19th December." For Captain William Brown see Sewall's Letter-Book, ii. 107, 154, 157.

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very severe Winter for Frost & [ ] thing that makes ye Harbour refuse the Impositions of ye Cold, [is the Tide,] which swells higher than ordinary when the Perige and Change or Full [of ye Moon] are coincident, by which means (especially if the wind blow hard) the Ic[e is bro]ken & driven out to Sea. Yet somtimes when many Accidents meet, 'tis fr[ozen] so hard, that a Cart and Oxen may pass over loaden. We have some Compen[sation] in a pleasant Serenity of ye Air, and moderation of our Day[e]s [ ] being about nine hours long from Sun to Sun: for Boston is not [so norther]ly as 42^d^ & 30^ms^ 'Tis built on an Island & Peninsula extended in [length] from N. East to Souwest about a Mile & half, from the Ferry to the For[ti]fication. The Buildings reach but little more than a Mile and quarter and more thinly at ye South-end. My House stands just a Mile from ye Fe[rry.] The Continent affords great plenty of Wood & Coal: but ye Coal in y^e^ [ ] Dominion, and for that reason, & bec. make not so sweet a fi[re it is] not much used yet [1]

[Second Page: fol. 140 v°] [2]

[h]as lat[ely gone t]horow the Tow[n]
a sor [e mor]tal Fever in Town & Country. I [ ]
f two [of] our Burying Places. There are tw[o]
[Ru]mney-Marsh [&] Muddy-River wch belong to Boston
least some of ye dead at Boston; the latter at Roxbury,
[a]lmost compassed with Salt; yet we have very good
Wells of Fresh Water. But I shall tire you
[th]ings y^t^ are of so remote concernment to you. My humble
[Servi]ce to Doctor Grew of Coventry,[3] if living. I am
Sir, your humble Servt
Samuel Sewall.

[Fourth page, fol. 141 v°]

[*Address*]

For
Doct^r^ Nehemia Grew
in Racket Court
near Shoe-Lane
in Fleet-street
London

[1] Here ends the first page (fol. 140 v°). There is nothing lacking on this page after the word *yet*, which closes a paragraph.

[2] The text of this page is so badly mutilated that it has seemed best to print it line for line. Some of the readings are not quite certain. The letter ends near the top of the page, all below the signature being blank. The third page is entirely blank.

[3] Dr. Obadiah Grew had died on October 22, 1689.

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NOTES ON LEE'S LETTER

THE COLONY AND HARVARD COLLEGE

1. "Instituted in 1642." A manifest error. The College was founded in 1636. John Harvard's benefaction was in 1638, and in that year the name Harvard College was decided on, and the first class was formed. 1642 is the date of the Act establishing the Overseers of Harvard College.

2. "The ferry betweene Boston & Charlestowne is granted to the colledge," Massachusetts Colony Records, October 7, 1640 (i. 304). See also Quincy, History of Harvard University, ii. 271.

3. "About 40 or 50 students." Twenty-two persons received the degree of Bachelor of Arts in 1690; eight in 1691; six in 1692; fifteen in 1693. Increase Mather was Rector of the College when Lee wrote.

4. The fourth reply must refer, not to Harvard College, but to the medical profession, which was not organized in corporate form (like the Royal College of Physicians in London) or subject to any fixed control. This appears to be the meaning of "no corporation in a strict form." What follows under the same head and under No. 5 bears out this interpretation: "No degrees in physick or licentiates regular," etc. The incorporation of Harvard College took place in 1650, and the Charter of that year, with the Appendix of 1657, remains in force.

5. This means, apparently, that physicians do not have to be approved by authority before they may practise. If their *patients* approve, says Mr. Lee jocosely, that is all that is required.

6. "In their owne pia and dura mater" is a jocose way of saying "in their own brain." Cf. "One of thy kin has a most weak pia mater" (Twelfth Night, i. 5. 123); "Whatever piety your Fathers pretended in the *Pia Mater* of their Brains, to be sure it is Ardled into impious matter of Deuilism, in their Childrens crack'd Crowns" ([Joshua Scottow,] A Narrative of the Planting of the Massachusets Colony [1]). What follows in the letter is from Juvenal's Seventh Satire, verses 158–160:

> Culpa docentis
> Scilicet arguitur quod laeva in parte mamillae
> Nil salit Arcadio iuveni.

[1] Boston, 1694 (4 Massachusetts Historical Collections, iv. 317).

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9. Dr. Grew had asked, it seems, whether the apothecaries were subject to any inspection. In London, it was the duty of the Apothecaries' Company to examine the drugs and medicines kept for sale and to destroy such as were unsound or adulterated. The College of Physicians acted as Censors of the apothecaries. Thus Dr. Merrett remarks in 1669: — "Whereas *Apothecaries* are bound to shew publickly to the *Censors* of the *Colledg*, and the *Master* and *Wardens* of their Company, *Mithridate, Diascordium, Alkermes*, &c. Yet for all this some of them privately make a great deal more of the Composition then is shewed of unsound Drugs, and some without any view at all."[1] The records of the Company show numerous cases of penalties imposed for selling unsound medicines or for compounding medicines "without public view." Thus in 1619 one Eason was fined more than £6 for such offences, and his "Methridatie" and "London Treacle" were seized and destroyed.[2] In 1624 the Company viewed a "dispensacon of Methridate."[3] Perhaps Dr. Grew's question applied particularly to this complicated medicine, to the proper preparation of which great importance was attached. Mr. Lee replies, with characteristic jocosity, that the Boston apothecaries import their mithridate from London and therefore may be said to make it "without inspection."

The New London Dispensatory describes "*Mithridatium Damocratis*, The Mithridate of Damocrates, taken from the Greek Copy." There are 48 ingredients, almost all vegetable, besides canary wine and clarified honey. "Make an Electuary." Salmon (pp. 658–659) gives a whole column to an enumeration of the diseases for which it is good, including the plague, madness, wind, leprosy, cancer, gout, and dysenteria. It "cures the bitings or stingings of any poisonous Creature, expels Poison."[4] Hence, of course, its name, from the Pontic king Mithridates VI.

10. This passage involves a botanical joke. Mr. Lee means that,

[1] Christopher Merrett, A Short View of the Frauds, and Abuses committed by Apothecaries, 1669, pp. 8–9.

[2] C. R. B. Barrett, History of the Society of Apothecaries of London, 1905, p. 5.

[3] Barrett, p. 24.

[4] Pharmacopœia Londinensis. Or, the New London Dispensatory. In VI. Books. Translated into English . . . The Sixth Edition, Corrected and Amended. By William Salmon, Professor of Physick. London, 1702, lib. iv. cap. 22, p. 658.

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if a physician is unsuccessful in curing disease, patients will have nothing to do with him. This he expresses by saying that such luckless practitioners are punished with "noli me tangere," to which he adds the old botanical name of the plant known as "noli me tangere" or "wild mercury" or "quick-in-hand," — *Persicaria siliquosa.* The phrase "to snap at them" is explained by the fact that the pods of this plant snap open at a touch, so that the seeds spring out. John Parkinson describes the plant in his Theatrum Botanicum (1640),[1] a standard work with which Mr. Lee was familiar. After the "flowers are past," writes Parkinson, "there come up in their places, small long joynted pods, hanging downewards, striped as it were all the length of them, wherein is conteined small long and somewhat flat seede, of a duskie colour, which is so hardly gathered, in regard that even before it be thorough ripe, if it be but very lightly handled, the pods will breake, and twine themselves a little, as the pods of some certaine pulses will doe, and the seed will leape forth, yea for the most part, the very shaking of the branches by the winde, causeth the pods to breake open, and shed their seede on the ground, where the ripest may best be gathered if they be taken in time."

11. "Licentia deteriores." Another pun. The doctors have no *licenses*, and by reason of this very *license* (or lack of restraint) they are the worse. The phrase is from a well-known passage in Terence, Heautontimorumenos, iii. 1. 74 (483): "Nam deteriores omnes sumus licentia."

13. The "pretty hospital upon the common for the poor" was the almshouse, "ordered by the town in 1660, built, later, on or near the present site of the Athenæum," and "rebuilt in 1685–6 (after a fire)." Since Lee wrote in 1690, he was of course referring to the second structure. The Boston almshouse is thought to have been the earliest in the country.[2]

15. Dr. Grew had evidently asked whether physicians had the right to compound and dispense their own prescriptions, or whether the privilege of dispensing was confined to the apothecaries (compare

[1] Tribe ii. chap. 64, p. 297 (cf. p. 296, fig. 5).

[2] See the remarks of our late associate, Dr. James Bourne Ayer, on Boston at the Time of the Battle of Bunker Hill (Proceedings of the Bunker Hill Monument Association, 1905, pp. 35–36). Dr. Ayer cites Robert W. Hebberd, The Charities Review, January, 1901, x. 515.

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the note on No. 9, above). Mr. Lee replies that they may themselves manufacture medicines, or buy them and dispense them, or send their patients to the apothecaries with prescriptions to be filled. On February 20, 1721–2, William Douglass, M.D., wrote from Boston to Cadwallader Colden: — "We abound with Practitioners, though no other graduate than myself, we have fourteen Apothecary shops in Boston; all our Practitioners dispense their own medicines." [1]

16. The question was apparently whether, in case the apothecaries practised, they confined themselves to medicine, or included surgery as well. In the disputes between the London physicians and the apothecaries, the Barber-Surgeons' Company had also become involved.[2]

17–18. These remarks about barbers and "tooth-drawing at pleasure" make it clear that Dr. Grew had based his inquiries on the state of things in London. There are traces of an unincorporated guild or fraternity of barbers (including barber-surgeons) as early as 1308.[3] In the same century there existed a similar unincorporated guild or fraternity of surgeons.[4] In 1462 the former was incorporated by royal charter; [5] the latter continued to exist on the old basis until 1540, when the incorporated Company of Barbers (including barber-surgeons) and the unincorporated guild of surgeons were united by an Act of Parliament, which also provided that no surgeon should practise barbery and that no barber should practise surgery except the drawing of teeth.[6] A new charter was granted to this united Company of Barbers and Surgeons in 1605 and in 1629.[7] In 1684 all previous charters were surrendered, and in the following year were superseded by a fourth charter,[8] which was in force when Mr. Lee wrote. These successive charters, however, had made no substantial change in the make-up of the Company, which still consisted of both barbers and the surgeons, although in 1684 certain surgeons of the Company had petitioned the king to incorporate the surgeons as a separate body.[9] In 1745 the growing animosity between the two

[1] Dr. Samuel A. Green, 2 Massachusetts Historical Proceedings, i. 44.
[2] Barrett, History of the Society of Apothecaries of London, p. 111.
[3] Austin T. Young, Annals of the Barber-Surgeons of London, 1890, pp. 23, 27–28.
[4] P. 35.
[5] Pp. 52 ff.
[6] P. 80.
[7] Pp. 112, 129.
[8] Pp. 146–147.
[9] P. 146.

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classes of members led to an Act of Parliament which dissolved the Company, made a separate Company of Surgeons, and reincorporated the barbers as Barbers only.[1]

Mr. Lee informs his correspondent that in Boston the barbers are not associated with the surgeons ("barbing is a trade by itself") and that anybody may draw teeth.

19. Apparently Dr. Grew had asked if there was anything in the Colony that corresponded to the Apothecaries' Company in London. Mr. Lee replies with a pun, — no company except when they meet at the tavern. "Concerned by authority" seems to mean "taken cognizance of (or regulated) by the magistrates or the laws." The Latin quotation is from the Third Satire of Persius, v. 23: "Udum et molle lutum es." The poet tells a young man that he is still soft and moist clay, that is, that he needs to be formed on the potter's wheel.

20. "Apprentices . . . please." This still refers to the apothecaries. The question of an apothecary's right to practise medicine ("to visit whom he pleases") was of much interest in England in the second half of the seventeenth century.

The Worshipful Society of the Apothecaries of London was incorporated in 1617. Their charter separated them from the Grocers, with whom they had been united by a previous charter in 1606. The apothecaries were not empowered to prescribe medicines, but only to dispense them, and the Royal College of Physicians had certain rights of inspection, in order that purity of drugs might be ensured and abuses avoided. In the latter half of the century, however, many apothecaries became general practitioners, and this occasioned a dispute with the physicians.[2]

Thus Dr. Jonathan Goddard, F.R.S. and Professor of Physic at Gresham College, advocated the preparation of medicines by the physicians themselves, complaining of the evil condition into which the profession had fallen on account of the taking up of medical practice by the apothecaries. "If Patients," writes Dr. Goddard, "understood their interest, they would take no such satisfaction, as they seem to do, in the Visits of Apothecaries; but rather wish them in their Shops to make, or oversee the making of their Medicines pre-

[1] Young, pp. 154–162.

[2] Barrett, History of the Society of Apothecaries of London, pp. xvi–xvii, 1 ff, 82–84.

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scribed by Physicians, which are left to their Servants, many times raw and slovenly Apprentices, while the Masters spend their time abroad, Physician-like, in Visiting." [1]

These differences were aggravated by the celebrated Dispensary Dispute, which began in 1675 and lasted through the century, though receiving its quietus on the publication of Dr. (afterwards Sir) Samuel Garth's celebrated poem in 1699.[2]

When Dr. Grew wrote his inquiries about the condition of the medical profession in New England, the Apothecaries and the College of Physicians were on by no means good terms. It is significant that, in the very year of Mr. Lee's reply (1690), an attempt was made to arrange an accommodation by which the physicians were not to keep shops for the dispensing of drugs and the apothecaries were to refrain from practising.[3]

A curious passage, giving an account of the growth of the practice of medicine among the apothecaries, may be quoted from a tract by another London physician, Dr. Christopher Merrett, F.R.S.:[4]

> The next thing to be treated of, shall be the ways of *Apothecaries* creeping into practice, and their unfitness thereunto. As to the first, heretofore when they were Members of the Company of Grocers, and dispersed in place, as well as in counsel, they then were wholy subordinate to the *Physicians*, only keeping in their Shops, and faithfully making the prescriptions they received from the *Physician*, and when made, sending them to the Patient by their men (as they still continue to do in Foreign Countries) and not committing the preparation to raw Boys, or Apprentices, which is the true interest of the Patient they should do here likewise. But in process of time *Physicians* in acute diseases having taught them somewhat, sent them to visit their Patients, to give them the best account they could of the estate of their health, and effect of their Medicines. And of later years some *Physicians* took them along with them in their Visits, whereby they acquired a little smattering of diseases, by

[1] A Discourse Setting forth the Unhappy Condition of the Practice of Physick in London (London, 1670), p. 21.

[2] Barrett, pp. 94–95, 113–118.

[3] Pp. 111–112.

[4] A Short View of the Frauds, and Abuses committed by Apothecaries, London, 1669, pp. 43–44 (2d ed., 1670, pp. 50–51). See also Merrett's tract entitled Self-Conviction, published in 1670. [Henry Stubbe] replied to Merrett in Medice cura teipsum! or The Apothecaries Plea, London, 1671. All these tracts are in the Harvard College Library.

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which means, and their continual officiousness, they insinuated themselves into Families, and by applying (right or wrong) the terms of Art they had learned from the *Physicians*, they made people believe they had acquired some skill in the Art, and afterwards began to venture a little at practice, and but until these 10 years last past kept themselves within some bounds and limits; but since that time have daily more and more incroached upon our Profession, being assisted by a greater familiarity of conversation with younger *Physicians*. And in the Plague time (most *Physicians* being out of Town) they took upon them the whole Practice of Physick,[1] which ever since they have continued, being much helped also therein by the dispersing of *Physicians* into places unknown to their Patients, by the Fire, but above all by the burning of the *Colldg*, by means whereof their Government and view of their Shops [2] have been omitted, insomuch that now their [3] past restraint having insinuated and (as they think) rooted themselves by the aforesaid Artifices.

21. The surgeons are neither associated in a single company with the barbers, as in London (see Nos. 17–18), nor have they any "fraternity or guild" of their own as they had in London before they were united with the barbers in 1540. "Guelt" involves another pun. *Gelt*, *ghelt*, or *guelt* (from the German and Dutch *Geld*) was a common word for "money" or "pay" in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

26. The Avery mentioned by Mr. Lee is, beyond a doubt, Dr. William Avery of Dedham and Boston. He was admitted a townsman of Dedham in 1651,[4] and, on February 16, he and his wife were received into the First Church there.[5] In March he got permission to set up his smith's shop.[6] This agrees with Lee's remark that the Avery to whom he refers had formerly practised the "ars vete-

[1] This point is handled in a rather gingerly manner. It was notorious that most of the regular practitioners had left their patients in the lurch while the plague raged. In the second edition (1670) Dr. Merrett omitted the damaging parenthesis "most *Physicians* being out of town" (p. 51).

[2] That is, the inspection of the apothecaries' shops by the Censors of the Royal College of Physicians. See No. 9.

[3] I. e., *they're*. The second edition reads, "now they are past all restraint" (p. 51).

[4] Dedham Records, iii. 132.

[5] Church Records, in Dedham Records, ii. 32 (cf. 35). His name is given as "——— Avery" and "brother Avery," but there can be no question of his identity.

[6] Dedham Records, iii. 179.

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rinaria," i. e. farriery. William Avery's name occurs frequently in the records of Dedham, often with the title of Sergeant. In 1669 he was Deputy to the General Court.[1] In 1673 he was appointed Lieutenant of the Dedham Military Company.[2] In 1675 his name appears in the records with the title of "Mr.;"[3] so also in 1679.[4] When he began to practise medicine we do not know; but his name bears the title "Doc" in the town records for 1676,[5] and thereafter *Doc*, *Do*, or *Doct* is its common prefix.[6] On January 1, 1678, he obtained permission "to fell timber of the town common, for a frame of a house to carry to Boston, provided he paid to the use of the town in money two shillings per ton, not exceeding seven ton."[7] This gives us an approximate date for his removal to Boston. In 1680 he offered the town of Dedham £60 for the encouragement of a Latin School,[8] and in the same year there is the following important entry in the records of that town:

Capt Dan Fisher make a return of the trust Co$\overline{\text{m}}$ited to him selfe and En Tho Fullar of a Some of mony of sixty pounds giuen to the Towne and the Improument for the benifit of a Latine Schoole

The returne is as foloweth be it Here by declared that I Will Auery Phisision now resedent in Boston: some times of the Church of Dedham do out of my Intire loue to the: Church and Towne: thier frely giue the full Some of sixty pound in mony thier of to be wholy for the incoragmt of a latin Schoole as shall be from time to tim so ordered by the Elders or Elder of that Church and select men for the time being desirous y^{t} others whom god shall make able will adde thier vnto that a latine Schoole may generaly be maintayned thier and this to stand vpon record in thier towne Booke.[9]

[1] Dedham Records, iv. 287.

[2] Massachusetts Colony Records, vol. iv. part ii. p. 567.

[3] Dedham Records, v. 34, 36.

[4] v. 76.

[5] v. 41.

[6] v. 43, 45, 47, 48, 54, 55, 57, 60, 61, 65, 70, 73, 83, 89.

[7] "Grant liberty to Do Auery to fell timber of the Towne Co$\overline{\text{m}}$ for a fram of a House to cary to Boston prouid he pay to the vse of the Town in mony 2^{s} per tune not exding 7 tune" (Dedham Records, v. 63).

[8] "Doc Will Auery doth tender mony sixty pounds for the incoragment of a latine Schoole in this Towne prouided thier be such incoragmt to a choole as may be sutoble of the Townes part and to that end to treet with him refering to his conditions we Chose Capt Dan Fisher and En Tho Fullar" (v. 98).

[9] v. 100–101.

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In March, 1681, there is a further record about Dr. Avery's benefaction, as follows: — "it being proposed to the Town whether they will allow twenty two pounds by the year to a lattin schoolmaster whereof seaven pounds shall be mony besides the incom of that 60 pounds given by Docter Avery, it was voated in the afirmitive." [1] And there are other entries relating to this same gift.[2]

Mr. Lee says that "Dr Avery was a great inquirer and had skill in Helmont & chemicall physick." By a lucky chance, two letters that show his inquiring mind and his addiction to chemistry are preserved in the Works of the famous natural philosopher, Robert Boyle, to whom they were addressed.[3] They are dated at Boston, November 9, 1682, and May 1, 1684. From them it appears that he was in hot pursuit of the alkahest or universal solvent. He refers to Starkey's Pyrotechny,[4] and mentions [5] "the worshipful Mr. Dudley[6] and "my worthy friend Mr. Thomas Brattle." [7] In the second letter he speaks of a son "about thirty years of age" as also a "practitioner in physic, and an assiduous labourer at the chemical fire." [8] This son was Jonathan Avery, of Dedham, who first appears in the town records in 1681 (with the title of Doctor),[9] and often thereafter.[10] Under date of December 16, 1701, are mentioned "the Heires of Jonath Avery Deceased." [11]

Dr. William Avery died in Boston, March 18, 1687.[12] His will is preserved in the Suffolk County Probate Files, No. 1526. The testator describes himself as "resident in Boston," as "practitioner in physick," and as "aged about 61 years." This was in 1683, for the will is dated on the 15th of October in that year. It is signed *William*

[1] Dedham Records, v. 109.

[2] v. 148–149, 367 (cf. v. 169).

[3] Boyle's Works, ed. Birch, v. 614–617.

[4] This is a once famous treatise by George Stirk of the Harvard Class of 1646 (who changed his name to Starkey): — Pyrotechny Asserted and Illustrated, London, 1658. Cf. Publications of this Society, xiii. 145.

[5] Boyle's Works, v. 616.

[6] Joseph Dudley, 1647–1720 (H. C. 1665).

[7] 1658–1713 (H. C. 1676).

[8] Boyle's Works, v. 617.

[9] Dedham Records, v. 114 (cf. 116).

[10] v. 121, 124, 128, 131, 136, 145, 146, 160, 163, 165, 166, 174, 178, 186, 194, 200, 279, 365.

[11] v. 295.

[12] "Dr. W[m] Avery dies" (Sewall's Diary, i. 170, March 18, 1686–7).

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Avery, and has two witnesses. Below their signatures is the acknowledgment in the presence of *three* witnesses, dated March 13, 1686–7. The will mentions the doctor's wife (Mary), and his four children, William, Robert, and Jonathan Avery, and Mary Tisdale; also his sons-in-law, William Sumner and Benjamin Dyer. There is an interesting bequest to charity which shows that the Doctor was interested in mines, as befitted a loyal student of alchemy:

Jt. Concerning my part in several mines, my Will is, that after all necessary charges already laid out or to be laid out upon them be equally satisfyed, then the profit or income of them while my wife lives, shall be divided to her & to my four children William, Robert & Jonathan Avery & Mary Tisdale, & after my Wife's decease shall be divided among my said children: And my will is that in all these divisions my son william shall have a double share . . . Further my [Will] is that a third part of all the profit y^{t} shall arise to any & all of my children from the said mines shall be improved for publick & charitable uses according to their own discretion. And my will is that it shall so remain from time to time with them their heirs or successors, that, all necessary charges deducted, a third part of the profit of ye mines aforesaid shall be for publick & charitable use.

All medical books and apparatus are bequeathed to the Doctor's son Jonathan. "Jt. My Will is y^{t} my son Jonathan shall have my two Stills, all my Physick books & instruments, he allowing twenty pound to my executors for ye same." The three sons are named as executors, but on May 26, 1687, they filed a document renouncing their executorship. This, with the will, is all that the Suffolk Files contain. The will is docketed as taken to the Probate Office by William and Robert Avery on May 26, 1687.

The will of Dr. Jonathan Avery is also in the Suffolk Probate Files, No. 1856. He describes himself as "Jonathan Avery, resident in Dedham . . . Practitioner in Physick, & aged about Thirty-five years." The will is dated February 18, 1689, and was recorded in May, 1691. The inventory, which is the only other document in the Files, is dated May 13, 1691, and was sworn to on May 27. The will mentions the Doctor's wife Sibyll, and his three daughters, Sibyll, Margarett, and Dorothy, all under age. His brother, William Avery, is also mentioned. The inventory values his "Bookes Devinitie & Pisicall & other small books" at £5, and his "Chyrurgion Jnstruments" at £1.

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THE INDIANS

1. A *flake* is "a lock or band of hair not twisted or plaited." The following passages (among those quoted in the Oxford Dictionary) make the meaning of the term clear: — "Will you have . . . your mustachoes sharpe at the ends, like shomakers aules, or hanging downe to your mouth like goates flakes?" (Lyly, Midas, iii. 2, ed. Fairholt, ii. 29–30); "The flakes of hair which naturally suggest lightning" (Steele, Guardian, No. 86); "His hair was flaxen, and fell in long flakes upon his shoulders" (Captain Marryat, The Phantom Ship, chap. viii.). The word is the same as the second part of *snowflake*, and King Lear plays on the two meanings when he speaks of his hoary locks as "these white flakes" (iv. 7. 10).

Josselyn, Rarities, p. 99, remarks: "The Men are somewhat Horse Fac'd, and generally Faucious, *i. e.* without Beards." Cf. Smith, p. 19; Wood, part ii. chap. 4, p. 55.

3. "Dank-faced" I do not understand. The only recorded meaning of *dank* seems to be the ordinary one, — "damp."

Mr. Lee's views concerning the origin of the American Indians, though not original, show that he was abreast of his time in ethnology. He thinks that their origin is twofold, — that they "came partly from the African Phœnicians, as may be seen by Diod. Siculus, and partly from the Eastern Tartars, it being as yet questionable whether Japan be an island or joined to the northwest of America." As to the latter point, he shows his confidence in future discovery by adding a little tag from the Iliad, ii. 119 (*καὶ ἐσσομένοισι πυθέσθαι*), which, in his special application of it here, signifies "And 'tis for posterity to ascertain." [1]

The passage from Diodorus Siculus which Mr. Lee has in mind consists of the nineteenth and twentieth chapters of the Fifth Book, in which Diodorus describes a great island in the Atlantic, several days' voyage to the westward of Libya (Africa), and tells how it was discovered by certain Phœnician explorers who were blown far out to sea while skirting the African coast after they had passed through the Pillars of Hercules. Both the Diodorus passage and the question

[1] Mr. Lee writes his Greek with the ligatures and contractions then customary, which I have not tried to reproduce in type. By slips of the pen he gives *ἐσσομένοισι* as *ἐσσαμένοισι* and accents *πυθέσθαι* on the first syllable.

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whether Japan is connected with America are discussed in Georg Horn's monograph, De Originibus Americanis,[1]—a little book which once enjoyed a well-merited reputation, and with which Mr. Lee (like Cotton Mather [2] and Samuel Sewall [3]) was undoubtedly familiar.

The theory that America joined Asia is well known to have been continuously entertained by geographers, with ever-varying degrees of favor, from the time of Columbus until well into the nineteenth century. Even the discovery of Bering Strait in 1728 and Cook's survey of it in 1778, did not put an end to what we may call the Asiatic theory. As late as 1819, Captain James Burney, who had been one of Cook's officers, and whose moderation and expert knowledge were alike remarkable, took pains to point out that there was as yet no "satisfactory proof of a separation of *America* and *Asia* having been demonstrated by an actual navigation performed." It was still quite conceivable that the two continents might unite somewhere farther north. "The sea North of *Bering's Strait*," argues Burney, ". . . has in some respects the character of a mediterranean sea," and in his chart he inserts, just above the seventieth parallel, the legend "Indications of land to the north of the line of soundings." On the whole, he does not hesitate to maintain that "there is cause to suppose *Asia* and *America* to be contiguous, or parts of one and the same continent." [4]

When Lee wrote, most geographers believed that Asia was separated from North America by the Strait of Anian, that mysterious forerunner of Bering Strait made popular by Mercator in 1569.[5]

[1] See book ii. chap. 1 (Hague, 1652, pp. 61 ff) for the Japanese question; book ii. chap. 7 (pp. 91 ff) for the passage from Diodorus.

[2] Magnalia, 1702, book i. chap. 1, § 6, p. 4.

[3] Letter-Book, i. 23; Phænomena quædam Apocalyptica, 1697 (2d ed., 1727, p. 2). Cf. the note on No. 67, pp. 178–179, below.

[4] A Chronological History of North-Eastern Voyages of Discovery, London, 1819, pp. 298, 300, 301 (cf. pp. 302 ff). Burney had already advanced these opinions in a memoir read before the Royal Society on December 11, 1817 (Philosophical Transactions for 1818, part i. pp. 9–23). Cf. Adelbert von Chamisso's reply, in Otto von Kotzebue, Voyage of Discovery, London, 1821, iii. 265 ff.

[5] The first *dated* map to contain the name Strait of Anian ("Streto de Anian") appears to be Zaltieri's Map of North America, 1566 ("Il Disegno del discoperto della noua Franza . . . Venteijs æneis formis Bolognini Zaltieri Anno. M.D. LXVI"). The Lenox Collection (New York Public Library) has this map, and I have had the pleasure of examining it. It is in the Lenox copy of Lafreri's Atlas, fol. [81]. There is a fascimile in Nordenskiöld's Facsimile-Atlas, fig. 81

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Others held out for absolute continuity.[1] In either case, the idea that a part of America had been peopled by emigrants from Tartary had long been popular. It was espoused, for example, by Edward Brerewood, in 1614.[2] "It is certaine," writes Brerewood, "that the North-east part of *Asia* possessed by the *Tartars*, is if not continent with the West side of *America*, which yet remaineth somewhat doubtfull: yet certainely, and without all doubt, it is the least disioyned by sea, of all that coast of *Asia*."[3]

What is peculiar in Lee's remarks, then, is not the Tartar theory (which was well established in men's minds),[4] but the introduction of Japan, and its possible connection with Asia by land, as an element in the problem. This consideration had developed on the basis of a notion (entertained by the Japanese themselves and by them communicated to European visitors) that Yezo extended far to the eastward. This notion had been reported in 1616 by Father Girolamo de Angelis,

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(English translation, p. 129; cf. No. 103, p. 121), and in the Atlas to Kretschmer's Entdeckung Amerika's, 1892, Tafel XIX. 3 (cf. the text, pp. 440–443). See Sophus Ruge, Fretum Anian (Programm, Annenschule, Dresden, 1873, pp. 19–32; also in his Abhandlungen und Vorträge, Dresden, 1888, pp. 53 ff); O. Peschel, Geschichte der Erdkunde, 2d ed. (by Ruge), Munich, 1877, pp. 273 and n. 2, 816; K. E. von Baer, in Beiträge zur Kenntniss des Russischen Reiches, xvi. 289–290 (St. Petersburg, 1872); Nordenskiöld, Periplus, English translation, 1897, p. 193; William Goldson, Observations on the Passage between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, Portsmouth, England, 1793, pp. 57–122.

[1] So for instance, Father Athanasius Kircher, the learned Orientalist, in his Introduction to the Coptic Language (Prodomus Coptus sive Ægyptiacus, Rome, 1636), expresses himself as "almost convinced by mathematical considerations" that Greater Cathay in the extreme north "angulo Americæ isthmo quodam coniungi" (p. 100).

[2] Enquiries touching the Diversity of Languages, and Religions through the Cheife Parts of the World, London, 1614, pp. 96 ff (ed. 1674, pp. 117 ff). Brerewood opposes the "vain and cappricious phantasie" that the Tartars "are of the *Israelites* progeny" (pp. 94 ff; ed. 1674, pp. 114 ff).

[3] P. 97 (ed. 1674, p. 118).

[4] See Roger Williams, Key, 1643, p. [viii]; Montanus (van Bergen), De Nieuwe en Onbekende Weereld, Amsterdam, 1671, pp. 38 ff; John Ogilby, America, 1671, pp. 39 ff (a translation of Montanus); Nicolaas Witsen, Nord en Oost Tartaryen, new ed., 1785, i. 157 ff; S. G. Drake, Book of the Indians, Book i. chap. ii, 8th ed., 1841, pp. 6 ff; Winsor, Narrative and Critical History, i. 76 ff. Morton, New English Canaan, 1637, pp. 19 ff, rejects the Tartar hypothesis in favor of the Trojans. In so doing he simply followed the lead of learned combinations going back to Virgil and involving Franks, Britons, and Scandinavians (see especially Viktor Rydberg, Undersökningar i Germanisk Mythologi, i. 24–74, Stockholm, 1886).

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a Sicilian missionary in Japan.[1] He declared that, to the best of his belief, "Jesso" was not an island, but a huge projection of Tartary, lying opposite to Quivira, a similar projection of New Spain, so that the Strait of Anian lay between Quivira and Tartary. In 1621 Father de Angelis visited Yezo, and somewhat modified his view. He decided that "Jesso" was after all an island, separated from Tartary by a strait, though he is ready to admit that the supposed western strait may be only a river. As to the extent of Yezo and its position with respect to the Strait of Anian and America, he seems to have remained of his former opinion.[2]

These views had a profound and long-continued influence on cartography. Lee, however, was doubtless particularly affected by a more recent report, that of Françoys Caron in 1636.[3]

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[1] For a sketch of the life of Father de Angelis see Crasset, Historie de l'Église du Japon, Paris, 1715, book xvi. chap. 26, ii. 429–432. He was burned to death at Jedo, December 3, 1623.

[2] The report of Father de Angelis (Relazione del regno di Jeso) seems to have been first published in Relazione di alcune cose cavate dalle Lettere scritte negli anni 1619, 1620 & 1621, dal Giappone al molto Rev. in Christo P. Mutio Vitelleschi, Preposito Generale della C. di Giesu (Rome, 1624), pp. 217–232 (Léon Pagès, Bibliographie Japonaise, No. 173, p. 21). The Harvard College Library has a large number of these Jesuit Relations from Japan, but lacks this volume, and I have not seen it. It is quoted, however, in the original Italian, by Sir Robert Dudley, Dell' Arcano del Mare, vol. i. book ii. chap. 17, p. 55, 1646 (and 2d ed., vol. i. book ii. chap. 17, p. 18, 1661). The substance of the letter, with a long extract, is given by de Charlevoix, Historie et Description Generale du Japon, Paris, 1736, vi. 24–41, and there is a sufficient extract (in Dutch) in Witsen, Nord en Oost Tartaryen, ed. 1785, i. 143–145. See also Buache, Considerations Géographiques et Physiques, 1753, pp. 84–88.

[3] Beschrijvinghe van het machtigh Coninckrijck van Iapan, gestelt door Francoys Caron, . . . ende met eenige aenteeckeningen vermeerdert door Hendrick Hagenaer, annexed to Verhael van de Reyze gedaen inde meeste Deelen van de Oost-Indien, door den Opper-Coopman Hendrick Hagenaer, p. 134 (in [Isaak Commelin,] Tweede Deel van het Begin ende Voortgangh der Vereenighde Nederlantsche Geoctroyeerde Oost-Indische Compagnie, 1646). There is also an edition of Caron's Beschrijvinghe, Amsterdam, 1649, in the John Carter Brown Library. The Description (with Hagenaer's additions) is translated in Recueil de divers Voiages qui ont servi à l'Établissement et aux Progrès de la Compagnie des Indes Orientales, formée dans les Provinces Unies des Païs-bas, v. 301 ff (Amsterdam, 1706); 2d edition, v. 381 ff (Amsterdam, 1716). In 1662 Caron published his report in a revised form, purged of Hagenaer's additions. There is a translation of this (from a copy furnished by Caron) in Melchisédec Thevenot's Relations de divers Voyages Curieux, part ii, Paris, 1664; reprinted in Recueil de Voyages au Nord, new edition, iv. 32–141 (Amsterdam, 1732). An

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Caron was Director of the Dutch East India Company in Japan. In replying to certain inquiries of Philip Lucas, Director-General of the Company, he expressed the opinion that Japan, "called by the Inhabitants *Nipon*," is an island; but he declined to make the assertion positively, "for," he says, "I find that a great part of this country is unknown to the Japanese themselves." As to the "land of Iesso or Sesso," that, according to the best information that Caron can get from the Japanese, is an island, separated from the north of Nipon by an arm of the sea. It is of great size, and the Japanese do not know how far it extends, though they have made several attempts to explore it. Caron appears to believe that Yezo is attached to the mainland of Asia.

Georg Horn, already referred to, was probably the intermediary between Caron and Lee. In his De Originibus Americanis he appeals to Caron as affording strong support for the theory that the Americans are, in part, of Tartar origin. "The whole tract of country," writes Horn, "from Nova Zembla and Japan and the Chinese Wall and Corea, is still unknown to Europeans, so that, if America anywhere comes close to our hemisphere, or joins it, the junction must be in the neighborhood of Cathay, outside the Arctic Circle." "That North America is rather closely joined to Asia," adds Horn, "is made easily credible by the description of Japan which Francis Caron has lately published." [1] Then, after quoting from Caron's Report, he proceeds as follows: — "All this throws much light on the doubtful questions about America which we are investigating. For what hinders us from supposing that Sesso is a part of America, or very close to it? And how well the barbarousness of the inhabitants, as described by Caron, agrees with the New World!" [2]

Further confusion was introduced into the geography of Yezo by

English version, apparently from the Dutch edition of 1649, appeared at London in 1663: — A true Description of the Mighty Kingdoms of Japan and Siam. Written originally in Dutch by Francis Caron and Joost Schorten [error for Schouten]: and now rendred in English by Capt. Roger Manley (Harvard College Library).

[1] "Vt vero facile credamus Americam Septentrionalem Asiæ propius conjungi, nupera quam Franciscus Caron publicavit Iaponiæ facit descriptio" (De Originibus Americanis, book ii. chap. 1, Hague, 1652, pp. 62–63).

[2] "Quæ omnia magnam lucem Americanis tenebris inferunt. Quid enim vetat quominus Sesso vel pars Americæ vel ei admodum vicina sit? Et quam bene illa barbaries novo orbi convenit?" (pp. 63–64).

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the Dutch discoveries of 1643, but since these had not reached Horn's ears, and since Mr. Lee shows no signs of being acquainted with them, we need not pursue the subject. The curious will consult Count Teleki's sumptuous and definitive work on the historical cartography of the Japanese Islands.[1]

7. Compare Wood, New Englands Prospect, ed. 1635, part ii. chap. 4, p. 54: — "Yet did I never see one that was borne either in redundance or defect a monster, or any that sicknes had deformed, or casualty made decrepit, saving one that had a bleared eye, and another that had a wenne on his cheeke." Morton, New English Canaan, 1637, p. 32 (ed. Adams, p. 147), notes "not any of them, crooked backed or wry legged." In Champlain's Voyage we read: — "Tous ces peuples se sont gens bien proportionnez de leur corps, sans aucune difformité."[2]

8. This question probably referred to the *menses* (cf. No. 34).

10. Dr. Grew had doubtless inquired about flow of milk as compared with that of Englishwomen.

12–14. These were certainly physiological questions, — No. 12 relating to odor, No. 13 to discharge of phlegm, and No. 14 to the movements of the bowels. With Mr. Lee's answer to No. 14, cf. Williams, Key, p. 100:

> There be diverse sorts of this Corne, and of the colours: yet all of it either boild in milke, or buttered, if the use of it were knowne and received in *England* (it is the opinion of some skillfull in physick) it might save many thousand lives in *England*, occasioned by the binding nature of *English* wheat, the *Indian* Corne keeping the body in a constant moderate loosenesse.

16. Probably Dr. Grew had asked whether the Indians change color under stress of emotion, as we do.

17. On the weeping and mourning of the Indians, see Morton, New English Canaan, p. 51, with the passages from Williams, Wood, and others cited by Mr. Adams in his note (pp. 170–171). Thomas Mayhew, 1650, speaks of their "hellish howlings over the dead."[3]

[1] Paul Teleki, Atlas zur Geschichte der Kartographie der Japanischen Inseln, Budapest and Leipzig, 1909. Cf. O. Nachod, Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin, 1910, pp. 196 ff.

[2] Des Sauvages, ou Voyage de Samuel Champlain, 1604, fol. 11 v°.

[3] In Henry Whitfeld, The Light Appearing, 1651, p. 11.

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Dunton, Letters from New England, borrows from Williams.[1] Smith, A Map of Virginia, 1612, p. 30, is like Strachey, p. 90.

18. Compare Williams, Key, chap. 6, p. 40 (ed. Trumbull, p. 68): — "They have also amongst them naturall fooles, either so borne, or accidentally deprived of reason."

19. Josselyn, Two Voyages, ed. 1675, p. 125, says that the Indians "seldom forget an injury."

20. "They count him all one woman," that is, "all one as (just the same as) a woman." A little bit of Indian English. See Kittredge, The Old Farmer and his Almanack, 1904, pp. 333–378.

21. Cf. Nos. 66, 68.

25. Cf. Wood, pt. ii. ch. 20, p. 82: — "To heare one of these *Indians* unseene, a good eare might easily mistake their untaught voyce for the warbling of a well tuned instrument. Such command have they of their voices." Josselyn, Two Voyages, ed. 1675, p. 135: — "Musical too they be, having many pretty odd barbarous tunes which they make use of vocally at marriages and feastings." Strachey, bk. i. cap. 6, p. 79: — "They have likewise their *errotica carmina*, or amorous dittyes in their language, some numerous [i. e. metrical], and some not, which they will sing tunable enough." Vimont, Jesuit Relations, Relation 1642 et 1643 (Paris, 1644), p. 35: — "Les Sauvages se plaisent fort au chant & y reüssissent tres bien."

27. "Three or four times as much physic as the English" was doing pretty well in view of the heroic doses of those times. "Suppose," writes Dr. Merrett, "a *Physician* hath prescribed a Pint of *Juleb*, &c. to be taken at four several times," and again, "When a Physician hath prescribed 20 Pills."[2]

30. Cf. Wood, pt. ii. ch. 19, p. 79: — "Spinne out the threed of their dayes to a faire length, numbering three-score, four-score, some a hundred yeares." Josselyn, Two Voyages, p. 130: — "They live long, even to an hundred years of age, if they be not cut off by their Children, war, and the plague, which together with the small pox hath taken away abundance of them."

36. The manuscript reads plainly "Sebeniack." The word is unknown to me. Cf. No. 108.

[1] Dunton, ed. Whitmore, pp. 294–295 (or 2 Massachusetts Historical Collections, ii. 122); Williams, Key, chap. 32, pp. 193 ff (ed. Trumbull, pp. 215 ff).

[2] A Short View of the Frauds, and Abuses Committed by Apothecaries, 1669, pp. 16, 17.

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37. "That dreadful disease and arrow of God" is doubtless the plague, which was regarded as a very special manifestation of God's wrath. Morton, New English Canaan, thinks that the pestilence of 1616 and 1617 was "by all likelyhood" the plague.[1] Cf. No. 111. Cotton Mather, Angel of Bethesda, ch. xx. (MS., p. 113), remarks: — "The proper *Plague* has never yett visited the Vast Regions of *America*: Howbeit *Pestilential Fevers* little better than *that*, have *there* made made fearful Ravages."

40. On *cosh-caska* compare Hariot's Report, 1588, sig. C 4 v°: — "*Coscúshaw*, some of our company tooke to bee that kinde of roote which the Spaniards in the West Indies call Cassauy."

42. The idea that consumption is "catching" among the Indians, but not among the English, is noteworthy in view of recent discoveries.

That consumption was contagious was a common idea among educated persons when Mr. Lee wrote. The Hon. Roger North, in his Life of his brother, Lord Keeper Guilford, congratulates himself that the latter (then Sir Francis North) was not present when his (Sir Francis's) wife died (November 15, 1678):

> Her distemper . . . was a violent cough attended with a spitting of blood. . . . Every one knows what offences, nay hazards, a nearness to persons, that expire gradually in such consumptions, induceth; for he [Sir Francis] would not be absent from her more than was consistent: and when she must expire, and probably in his arms, he might have received great damage in his health.[2]

Cf. Cotton Mather's Diary, ii. 452 (a reference that I owe to our associate Mr. W. L. R. Gifford).

The contagious character of phthisis was well known to the ancients. In the Problems, wrongly ascribed to Aristotle, the question is raised: "Why do those who approach the patient catch consumption and ophthalmia and itch, while they do not catch dropsy and fevers and apoplexy or other diseases?"[3]

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[1] P. 24 (see Mr. Adams's note, p. 133).

[2] The Lives of the Right Hon. Francis North, Baron Guilford, the Hon. Sir Dudley North, and the Hon. and Rev. Dr. John North, London, 1826, i. 167–168.

[3] *Διὰ τί ἀπὸ φθίσεως καὶ ὀφθαλμίας καὶ ψώρας οἱ πλησιάζοντες ἁλίσκονται · ἀπὸ δὲ ὕδρωπος καὶ πυρετῶν καὶ ἀποπληξίας οὐχ ἁλίσκονται, οὐδὲ τῶν ἄλλων* (vii. 8). Cf. Isocrates, Aegineticus, 29. See W. H. S. Jones, Malaria and Greek History, 1909, pp. 42–43, 128.

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44. Compare Wood, part i. p. 39: — "Whatsoever is bitten by these snakes his flesh becomes as spotted as a leaper." So Lechford, Plain Dealing, 1642, p. 47: — "There are Rattle-snakes, which sometimes doe some harme, not much; He that is stung with any of them, or bitten, he turnes of the colour of the Snake, all over his body, blew, white, and green spotted; and swelling, dyes, unlesse he timely get some Snake-weed; which if he eate, and rub on the wound, he may haply recover, but feele it a long while in his bones and body." See No. 97.

Cotton Mather sent the Royal Society two good snake stories in 1712. They are reported, with some changes in form, in the Philosophical Transactions.[1] I give them from a copy of the original letter:

A Traveller in this Countrey mett and killed a *Rattle-snake*; but suffered the Angry *Snake* to give a Bite before he died unto ye lower end of the Switch, with ye lashes of which he had first spoiled his leaping. He rode on, & a fly disturbing him on one of his Temples, he rubb'd ye place, wth ye upper end of the Switch in his hand, unto which ye poison below had so permeated, that ye Head of ye poor Man Swell'd immediately, and (as I remember) he died upon it. . . . At Cape *Fear*, one of o^r^ people Sporting with a *Rattle Snake*, provoked him, & suffered him to bite ye edge of a Good Broad Ax; whereupon, immediately ye Colour of the Steeled Iron changed, & at the first blow he gave, when he went after this to use his Axe, ye discoloured part of ye Bitten Iron, broke off without any more ado. I know not whether I have now Sprung a New Game, for the Gentlemen, that are hunting after ye Liquor *Alkahest*.[2]

Cf. Mather's Christian Philosopher, 1721, p. 169: — "And yet [is] this *Rattle-snake* such a venomous Wretch, that if he bite the Edge of an *Axe*, we have seen the bit of *Steel* that has been bitten, come off immediately, as if it had been under a *Putrefaction*."

[1] No. 339 (for April–June, 1714), xxix. 68. Paul Dudley's account of the rattlesnake (dated Roxbury, October 25, 1722) may be seen in the Philosophical Transactions, No. 376, xxxii. 292–295. It is far more sober than Mather's.

[2] Letter of Nov. 27, 1712 (addressed to Richard Waller, the Secretary of the Royal Society). In the archives of the Society. From a copy kindly lent me by our associate Mr. Frederick Lewis Gay. The alkahest, or universal solvent, was passionately sought after in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Dr. William Avery in Boston was in hot pursuit of it in 1682–1684 (see No. 26, p. 164, above).

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The rattlesnake had attracted the attention of the Royal Society at an early date. In the Philosophical Transactions for May 8, 1665, there is a somewhat amusing passage: — "There being not long since occasion given at a meeting of the *Royal Society* to discourse of *Ratle Snakes*, that worthy and inquisitive Gentleman, Captain *Silas Taylor*, related the manner, how they were killed in *Virginia*." It appears that bruised leaves of "Wild *Penny-royal* or *Ditany* of *Virginia*" were fastened in the cleft of a long stick, and this contrivance was kept in front of the snake's mouth. "She was killed with it, in less than half an hours time, as was supposed, by the scent thereof." [1]

Dr. Nehemiah Grew knew a good deal about rattlesnakes before he sent his *questionnaire* to Mr. Lee. In 1681 he had published an elaborate catalogue of the curiosities of nature and art in the cabinet of the Royal Society.[2] I note in his list "the SKIN of a RATTLE-SNAKE," "about fourteen more SKINS of the RATTLE-SNAKE," and "several RATTLES of the same Serpent." [3] He gives a particular description of the rattles, and his account of the creature is full of interest. "Those that are bitten with him," he avers, "sometimes die miserably in 24 hours; their whole body cleaving into chops."

In 1683 Dr. Edward Tyson had dissected a rattlesnake at the Repository of the Royal Society. An account of the dissection was inserted by Tyson in the Philosophical Transactions for February, 1683.[4]

46. Cf. Nos. 90, 95, 114. As to the appearance of the conjurer's demon in the shape of an eagle or a rattlesnake, there is a close parallel in Winslow's Good Newes from New England: — "This Hobbamock appears in sundry forms unto them, as in the shape of a man, a deer, a

[1] No. 3, i. 43. For thrilling experiments with live rattlesnakes in South Carolina in 1720, see Philosophical Transactions, No. 399, xxxv. 309–315. Cf. also xxxv. 377–381.

[2] Musæum Regalis Societatis. Or a Catalogue & Description of the Natural and Artificial Rarities belonging to the Royal Society and preserved at Gresham Colledge. Made by Nehemiah Grew, M.D., London, 1681.

[3] Pp. 50–51.

[4] It was republished in 1699: — Vipera Caudi-sona Americana: or the Anatomy of a Rattle-snake, Dissected at the Repository of the Royal Society, in January, 1682-3 (appended to Tyson's Orang-Outang, sive Homo Sylvestris: or the Anatomy of a Pygmie). There was a second edition in 1751. The Acta Eruditorum, Leipsig, 1684, pp. 138–149, contains "Viperæ caudisonæ anatomia, descripta ab Eduardo Tyson . . . Excerpta ex Transactionibus Philosophicis Anglicis mensis Febr. 168⅔. No. 144."

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fawn, an eagle, &c. but most ordinarily a snake." [1] Winslow, speaking of the Indian "powah," also remarks: "If the party be wounded he will also seem to suck the wound; but if they be curable, (as they say,) he toucheth it not, but *askooke*, that is, the snake, or *wohsacuck*, that is, the eagle, sitteth on his shoulder and licks the same. This none see but the powah, who tells them he doth it himself." [2]

In [Thomas Shepard], The Day-Breaking, 1647, p. 21, we find: "They were askt how they come to bee made *Pawwahs*, and they answered thus, that if any of the *Indians* fall into any strange dreame wherein *Chepian* appeares unto them as a serpent, then," etc. Compare Thomas Mayhew, letter of October 16, 1651, from the Vineyard, in Strength out of Weaknesse, 1652, pp. 28–29:

> One of them did then discover the bottom of his witchcraft, confessing that at first he came to be a *Pawwaw* by Diabolical Dreams, wherein he saw the Devill in the likenesse of four living Creatures; one was like a man . . . Another was like a Crow. . . . The third was like to a Pidgeon . . . The fourth was like a Serpent, very subtile to doe mischiefe, and also to doe great cures, and these he said were meer Devills.

See also Thomas Mayhew's letter of October 22, 1652, in Tears of Repentance, 1653, [p. 8,] sig. B 2; cf. [Shepard,] The Day-Breaking, 1647, p. 21; Experience Mayhew, Indian Converts, 1727, p. 7.

Father Lallemant, who regards the Huron country as "vne des principales forteresses, & comme vn donjon des Demons," [3] speaks of the devils as appearing in dreams, "tantost en forme de corbeau, ou autre oiseau; tantost en forme de couleuure . . . ou d'autre animal." [4]

49. On easy labor see Morton, pp. 31–32, and the authorities cited in Mr. Adams's note (p. 146). Compare Strachey, p. 110 (Smith, A Map of Virginia, 1621, p. 21); Dunton, Letters from New England, 1686, ed. Whitmore, pp. 268–269 (cf. 2 Massachusetts Historical Collections, ii. 119), from Roger Williams, Key, p. 141 (ed. Trumbull, pp. 170–171); Mather, Magnalia, 1702, Book iii. part 3, p. 192. Cf. No. 51.

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[1] Young, Chronicles of the Pilgrim Fathers, 1844, p. 357; 2 Massachusetts Historical Collections, ix. 92.

[2] Young, p. 357.

[3] Huron report, p. 100, appended to the Relation of 1639 (Paris, 1640).

[4] Pp. 129–130. Cf. Huron report, p. 74, appended to the Relation of 1643 and 1644 (Paris, 1645).

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51. This evidently refers to women after childbirth. See the references under No. 49. Wood's testimony is strikingly similar to Lee's: — "Upon a board two foot long and one foot broade . . . this little *Pappouse* travels about with his bare footed mother, to paddle in the Icie Clammbankes, after three or four daies of age have sealed his passe-board and his mothers recovery." [1] Winslow, too, remarks: "On the third day after child-birth, I have seen the mother with the infant, upon a small occasion, in a boat upon the sea." [2]

56. Cf. Lechford, Plain Dealing, 1642, p. 52: — "They will not taste sweet things." Josselyn, Two Voyages, ed. 1675, p. 124: — "Their Teeth are very white, short and even, they account them the most necessary and best parts of man." Josselyn, p. 185, notes how the English "lose their Teeth." Wood, pt. ii. ch. 19, p. 79, says the Indians do not "experimentally know" "tooth-aches."

63. Cf. Williams, Key, chap. 14, p. 86 (ed. Trumbull, p. 111): — "This Southwest wind is called by the *New-English*, the Sea turne. . . . It is rightly called the Sea turne, because the wind commonly all the Summer, comes off from the North and Northwest in the night, and then turnes againe about from the South in the day."

On the winds, see Sewall's letter, which adapts Lee's remarks to Bostonian conditions.[3] The proverb quoted by Sewall is still current. I have heard the following traditional rhyme on Cape Cod:

When the wind is to the north,
The fisherman he goes not forth;
When the wind is to the east,
'T is neither good for man nor beast;
When the wind is to the south,
It blows the bait in the fish's mouth;
When the wind is to the west,
Then 't is at the very best.

65. Probably Lee is referring to the thermometer, then a rare instrument. See Robert Hooke's Posthumous Works, 1705, pp. 555–556. When Canon Derham communicated to the Royal So-

[1] New Englands Prospect, ed. 1635, part ii. chap. 19, p. 82 (quoted by Adams in his edition of Morton's New English Canaan, p. 146).

[2] Good Newes from New England (Young, 1844, p. 358), — also cited by Adams, ibid.

[3] P. 154, above.

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ciety a specimen of the meteorological observations made at Harvard College, 1715–1722, by Tutor Thomas Robie, he was forced to remark: "I am sorry that Mr. *Robie*'s Observations want those of the Barometer and Thermometer: Neither of which Instruments were to be gotten in *New-England*." [1] On February 20, 1721, Dr. William Douglass wrote from Boston to Cadwallader Colden: "I know of no Thermometer nor Barometer in this place." [2] In 1725–6 Mr. Feveryear [3] was able to make observations at Boston with both instruments, and Isaac Greenwood, enclosing them in a letter to the Royal Society (May 1, 1727), described them as "the first sett of such Observations that was ever made in New England." [4]

66. Cf. Nos. 21, 68. *Curiosity* means "elaborateness" or "nice care." *No-cake* is merely an English corruption of the Indian word (by "popular etymology"). See Williams, Key, p. 11: "Nókehick, *Parch'd meal*, which is a readie very wholesome food, which they eate with a little water, hot or cold." Compare the references contributed by Mr. Albert Matthews to the Oxford Dictionary (s. v. *nocake*). See also Trumbull, Natick Dictionary, 1903, p. 91 (s. v. *nøhkik*) and p. 294 (s. v. *meal*); Gookin, 1 Massachusetts Historical Collections, i. 150–151. The earliest example of *hoe-cake* in the Oxford Dictionary is from Joel Barlow's Hasty Pudding (1793).

67. Dr. Grew's question about pork may have been prompted by his wish to get evidence as to the fancied descent of the Indians from the Lost Tribes, — a theory well known to have been held by the Apostle Eliot [5] (though Cotton Mather thinks it was rather his *wish* than his *belief*) and to have been regarded with some favor by Roger Williams. [6] In this discussion the feeling of the Indians toward swine was of course much canvassed. "In America," writes Thorowgood, the choregus of the Jewish theory, "they eate no swines flesh tis hatefull to them, as it was among the Jews." [7] And his inference

[1] Philosophical Transactions, No. 423, xxxvii. 266–267.

[2] 4 Massachusetts Historical Collections, ii. 165.

[3] Grafton Feveryear (see Zabdiel Boylston, Historical Account of the Small-Pox Inoculated, 2d ed., Boston, 1730, p. 13; Register, xv. 333).

[4] Royal Society MS. Letter-Book, G. 2. 6 (quoted by Andrews and Davenport, Guide to the Manuscript Materials, 1907, p. 364).

[5] Eliot's letter in Thorowgood, Jews in America, 1660; Mather, Magnalia, 1702, book iii. part 3, pp. 192–193.

[6] Key, 1643, pp. [viii–ix] (ed. Trumbull, p. 24).

[7] Iewes in America, 1650, p. 7.

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from the supposed fact is largely controverted by Sir Hamon l'Estrange.[1] Mather admits that the Indians have "a great unkindness for our *Swine*; but," he adds, "I suppose that is because our *Hogs* devour the *Clams* which are a Dainty with him."[2]

Lee rejects the hypothesis of Jewish origin, as appears from his answer to Grew's third question, preferring the theory that the Indians "come partly from ye African Phœnicians . . . and partly from ye Easterne Tartars from Japanward."[3] Sewall, in his covering letter, makes no comment on Lee's views. His silence was doubtless due to deferential courtesy; for, in 1686, in writing to Stephen Dummer, he had shown himself much impressed with Thorowgood's reasoning,[4] and in 1697 he was still on the Jewish side: — "For my own part, what Mr. *Downam*, and Mr. *Thorowgood* have written on this head, seems to be of far more weight with me, than what *Hornius*, or any other that I have seen, have guess'd to the contrary."[5] However, the Jewish hypothesis was not particularly acceptable to scholars. Gookin, who was disposed to regard it with favor, declares (in 1674) that "this opinion, that these people are of the race of the Israelites, doth not greatly obtain."[6]

68. Cf. Strachey, p. 77: — "They be all of them hugh eaters, and of whome we may saye with Plautus, *Noctes diesque estur*,[7] for which we ourselves doe give unto every Indian that labours with us in our forts, doble the allowance of one of our owne men." Cf. Josselyn, p. 130: — "They have prodigious stomachs, devouring a cruel deal, meer *voragoes*, never giving over eating as long as they have it." See also Wood, part ii. chap. 6, p. 58.[8] Morton has a chapter "Of their inclination to Drunkennesse" (book ii. chap. 9, p. 54).

70. Compare Strachey, p. 74: — "Flatt, broad cakes (much like the sacrificing bread which the Grecians offred to their gods, called

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[1] Americans no Iewes, 1652, pp. 19–20.

[2] Magnalia, 1702, book iii. part 3. p. 193.

[3] P. 147, above (cf. p. 166).

[4] Letter-Book, i. 23.

[5] Phænomena quædam Apocalyptica, 1699 (2d ed., 1727, p. 2).

[6] Historical Collections of the Indians in New England (1 Massachusetts Historical Collections, i. 145).

[7] The passage which Strachey quotes is in the Mostellaria, i. 3. 78 (*dies noctesque estur*).

[8] See Morton, p. 25 (where Adams cites Wood and Josselyn).

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popanum), and these they call appones." In the little Dictionarie appended, Strachey gives "Apones, *bread*" (p. 183). Trumbull, Natick Dictionary, p. 14, compares the Delaware word *achpoan*, "bread," given by Zeisberger, with the Natick *apwóu*, "he roasts or cooks (meat)," also "as used by Eliot, . . . he bakes or cooks (bread or other inan. obj.)." See also the references (most of them contributed by Mr. Albert Matthews) under *pone* in the Oxford Dictionary.

74. Compare Josselyn, New-Englands Rarities, 1672, p. 54: — "*Tobacco*, there is not much of it planted in *New-England*; the *Indians* make use of a small kind with short round leaves called *Pooke*." The same author, in his Two Voyages, ed. 1675, p. 76, remarks: — "The *Indians* in *New England* use a small round leafed Tobacco, called by them, or the Fishermen Poke. *It is odious to the* English." This *poke*, according to Tuckerman,[1] was *Nicotiana rustica* (Linnæus), "the yellow henbane of Gerard's Herbal, p. 356."[2] See also *pooke* in Trumbull, Natick Dictionary, p. 131, where it is noted that Tuckerman "is unquestionably right in his inference that 'the name *poke* or *pooke* was perhaps always indefinite.'" "It signifies," adds Dr. Trumbull, "merely 'that which is smoked,' or 'which smokes.'" Cf. No. 102, below. Strachey, pp. 121–122, speaking of Virginia, declares that "there is here great store of tobacco, which the salvages call *apooke*: howbeit yt is not of the best kynd, yt is but poore and weake, and is of a byting tast, yt growes not fully a yard above ground, bearing a little yellowe flower like to henne-bane, the leaves are short and thick, somewhat round at the upper end."[3]

With what Lee says about pipes, compare Rosier's Relation of Waymouth's Voyage to the Coast of Maine, 1605, ed. H. S. Burrage, Gorges Society, 1887, p. 124: — "They filled their Tabacco pipe, which was then the short claw of a Lobster, which will hold ten of our pipes full." Sewall's letter shows that the Indians had adopted English pipes.[4] Cf. Williams, Key, ch. 6, pp. 44–45: — "Sometimes they make such great *pipes*, both of *wood* and *stone*, that they are two foot

[1] In his edition of Josselyn's Rarities, 1865, pp. 103–104 (or Transactions of the American Antiquarian Society, 1860, iv. 189).

[2] See John Gerard, Herball, enlarged by Thomas Johnson, 1633, book ii. chap. 67, p. 356.

[3] Cf. Strachey, p. 55. In the Dictionarie (p. 183) he enters *apooke* and *apokan*.

[4] P. 153, above.

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long, with men or beasts carved, so big or massie, that a man may be hurt mortally by one of them; but these comonly come from the *Mauquáuwogs*, or the *Men eaters*, three or foure hundred miles from us: They have an excellent Art to cast our *Pewter* and *Brasse* into very neate and artificiall *Pipes*."

75. On the treatment of infants see Wood, part ii. chap. 20, p. 82; Morton, 1637, p. 32 (ed. Adams, p. 147); Josselyn, pp. 127–128.

79. On suicide among the Indians see Sewall's Diary, October 12, 1715 (ii. 62). Increase Mather says that Squando, the Saco sachem, hanged himself (Illustrious Providences, 1684, chap. xi. p. 361). Morton tells of an Indian who "desperately killed himselfe" when he was drunk (p. 54). The following entry in Stiles's Diary (March 16, 1789) is very curious:

> Mr. Isaacs now a Student in Law in this Town while in Georgia or Car° last year, went out on a party ag^t^ the Indians. They pacificated & gave Hostages. One of the Sachems left his son an Hostage. But the son not enduring the Hostage state hung himself. The Indians resented it. The English alledged Suicide. The Indians on Examⁿ said they could not find that ever an Indian committed Suicide, & therefore believed the English killed the Indian Youth Hostage: and thereupon declared Revenge & Hostilities.. N. B. Tho' Suicide frequent among the English, never among Indians.[1]

81. Dr. Grew's question obviously concerned unnatural vice. Dr. Lee asks him to excuse him from making any reply, — "Pardon this Query for any answer." That the question was neither idle nor unreasonable may be seen from Westermarck, The Origin and Development of the Moral Ideas, chap. xliii. II. 456 ff (1908).

83. On Indian games see the references in Mr. Adams's note in his edition of Morton's New English Canaan, p. 138, and cf. A. McF. Davis, Bulletin of the Essex Institute, 1885, xvii. 89 ff.

86. Compare Josselyn, p. 132: — "Their manner is when they have plague or small pox amongst them to cover their *Wigwams* with bark so close that no Air can enter in, lining them . . . within, and making a great ffre they remain there with a stewing heat till they are in a top sweat, and then run out into the Sea or River, and presently after they are come into their Hutts again they either re-

[1] Literary Diary of Ezra Stiles, ed. Dexter, iii. 348.

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cover or give up the Ghost." See also Strachey, p. 108 (Smith, p. 29); Mather, Magnalia, 1702, book iii. part 3. pp. 191–192; Clayton, Philosophical Transactions, xli. 149. William Douglass, the opponent of the Mathers and Zabdiel Boylston in the matter of inoculation, approves the Indian "sweathouses" for the treatment of some diseases; see his Summary, Boston, 1749, i. 174. Paul Dudley sent the Royal Society a highly interesting account of a sweating cure performed in 1704 at Exeter, New Hampshire. He added a description of the Indian "houses to sweat" at Nantucket; elsewhere, he says, the aborigines have pretty well abandoned this method of treatment.[1]

89. On "blacking the face" as a sign of mourning see Morton, p. 51 (with Adams's note); cf. Wood, part ii. chap. 19, p. 79; Lechford, Plain Dealing, 1642, p. 50; Williams, Key, 1643, chap. 32, p. 193.

90. We may note that Mr. Lee wrote these words (as well as those under Nos. 46, 95, and 114) shortly before the witchcraft prosecution at Salem, for which the belief that the Indians had to do with devils was partly responsible.[2] It is needless to cite the many extant accounts of Indian *powwows* or magicians. See, for references, Adams's note to Morton (Prince Society edition, pp. 150, 152); Oxford Dictionary, under *powwow* (noun and verb) and *powwower*.[3] Cf. David Brainerd, Letter to Ebenezer Pemberton, November 5, 1744, p. 37 (appended to Pemberton's Sermon at the Ordination of Brainerd, 1744); Samuel Hopkins, Housatunnuk Indians, 1753, pp. 23, 24; Journal of George James, in James Walcot, The New Pilgrim's Progress, 1748, p. 257. There is a curious remark, particularly interesting because of its late date, in President Stiles's Diary (June 13, 1773):[4]

> The Powaws of the American Indian are a Relict of this ancient System of seeking to an evil invisible Power; . . . Something of it subsists among some Almanack Makers and Fortune Tellers, as Mr Stafford of Tiverton lately dead who was wont to tell where lost things might be found, and what day, hour and minute was fortunate for vessels to sail &c. . . . But in general the System is broken up, the Vessel of Sorcery ship-

[1] Philosophical Transactions, No. 384, xxxiii. 129–132.

[2] Cf. Kittredge, Notes on Witchcraft, 1907, pp. 51–52 (Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society, New Series, xviii. 195–196).

[3] The passages were contributed to the Dictionary by our associate, Mr. Albert Matthews.

[4] Ed. Dexter, i. 386.

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wreckt and only some shattered planks and pieces disjoyned floating and scattered on the Ocean of the human Activity and Bustle. When the System was intire, it was a direct seeking to Satan.

95. Cf. Nos. 46, 90.

97. Compare Francis Higginson, New-Englands Plantation, 1630, sig. C3:

Yea there are some Serpents called Rattle Snakes that haue Rattles in their Tayles that will not flye from a Man as others will, but will flye vpon him and sting him so mortally, that he will dye within a quarter of an houre after, except the partie stinged haue about him some of the root of an Hearbe called Snake Weed to bite on, and then he shall receiue no harme.

Wood, pp. 38–39, is more circumstantial:

When any man is bitten by any of these creatures [rattlesnakes], the poyson spreads so suddenly through the veines, and so runs to the heart, that in one houre it causeth death, unlesse he hath the Antidote to expel the poyson, which is a root called Snakeweede, which must be champed, the spittle swallowed, and the roote applied to the sore; this is present cure against that which would be present death without it: this weede is ranke poyson, if it be taken by any man that is not bitten, unlesse it be Physically compounded.

Snakeroot was known to Dr. Nehemiah Grew before he received Lee's letter; for in 1681 he mentions as one of the botanical specimens in the Royal Society's museum "a sort of SNAKEWEED, growing near the River in *Connecticut*. So called, because the Root is used for the biting of the *Rattle-Snake*."[1] The Rev. John Clayton in his replies (from Virginia) to Grew's inquiries of 1687, mentions "the Root which cures the Bite of the Rattle-snake." He also remarks that he has had "40 several Sorts" of herbs, "or near that Number, shewed me as great Secrets, for the *Rattle-snake-root* . . . But I have no Reason to believe, that any of them are able to effect the Cure." He gives particulars.[2]

Robert Boyle, in his treatise Of the Reconcileableness of Specific Medicines to the Corpuscular Philosophy, speaks of "Virginia snake-weed" or "serpentaria Virginiana" as a cure "for the bitings of those

[1] Musæum Regalis Societatis, 1681, part ii. section iii. chap. 1, p. 227.

[2] Philosophical Transactions, No. 454, vol. xli. part i. pp. 144, 153–154.

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serpents, which, for the noise they are wont to make with a kind of empty bladders in their tails, the English call rattle-snakes."[1]

James Petiver, F.R.S., the distinguished botanist and entomologist, mentions, in 1717, in a list of "Some *American Plants* . . . lately sent me by the *Reverend* and Learned Dr. *Cotton Mather*, at *Boston*, in *New England*, and Fellow of the *Royal Society*,[2] London," a plant called "*Ophiophuga*, Cottonis Mather." He adds Mather's note: — "A *Poultiss* of this bruised and laid to the Part bitten by the *Rattle-Snake*, it immediately fetches out the *Deadly Poyson*: it's also remarkable, that if put into the *Shoes*, no *Serpent* will dare to come near them. A *Tea* of it is a good *Ophthalmiack*. C. M." Petiver appends this remark: — "*N. B.* I have already 4 or 5 different Sorts of these *Rattle-Snake Plants* from *Carolina*, *Virginia* and *Maryland*, and this, another, altogether new to me."[3] Doubtless it was the same plant that Mather mentions in a letter to the Royal Society in 1712: — "We have another *American* plant, which is a certain and speedy cure, and does wonders, for the bite of a *Rattlesnake*; and is admirable against all Internal as well as external poisons."[4]

In his Account of the Rattlesnake, printed in the Philosophical Transactions for March–April, 1723, Paul Dudley mentions bloodroot as a remedy. "Snake-weed" was among the New England curiosities presented to the Royal Society by John Winthrop, F.R.S. (H. C. 1700), in 1734.[5] See also Josselyn, Rarities, pp. 38–39, and Two Voyages, p. 114, cited (as well as Higginson and Wood) in Mr. Adams's note to Morton (p. 213, n. 3). Cf. No. 44, p. 149, above.

Mr. Lee's reference to Parkinson is exact. See John Parkinson, Theatrum Botanicum, London, 1640, Tribe 2, chap. 25, § 6, p. 214: — "*Helleborus niger Saniculæ folio major*. The greater purging Sanicle like Hellebor."

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[1] Works, ed. Birch, iv. 305.

[2] See pp. 81–114, above.

[3] Petiveriana III, seu Naturæ Collectanea; Domi Forisque *Auctori* Communicata, London, 1717, p. 12, col. 2.

[4] Letter of November 18, 1712 (addressed to John Woodward, M.D.), in the archives of the Royal Society. I quote from a copy belonging to Mr. F. L. Gay. The letter is excerpted in the Philosophical Transactions, No. 339, April–June, 1714 (xxix. 64).

[5] Selections from an Ancient Catalogue, etc. (extracted from the American Journal of Science, vol. xlvii), New Haven, 1844, p. 6 (from the MS. Journal of the Royal Society).

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98. Josselyn, New-Englands Rarities, 1672, p. 43, notes the use of "Raccoons greese" by the Indians in the treatment of wounds and aches, and again, in his Two Voyages, ed. 1675, p. 85, he remarks of "the *Racoon* or *Rattoon*," that its "grease is soveraign for wounds with bruises, aches, streins, bruises; and to anoint after broken bones and dislocations." Morton, p. 79, remarks that raccoon's oil is "precious for the Syattica."

103. As to "philtres pour attirer à soy l'amour" see Father Lallemant's Huron report, p. 74, appended to the Relation of 1643 and 1644 (Paris, 1645).

107. The classic passage for initiation by vomit among the New England Indians is the description in William Morrell's New-England, 1625:

> Nec priùs excercet crudelia paruulus arma,
> Quam patiens armorum vt sit sibi pectus, amaram
> Herbis compositam peramaris sorbiat vndam,
> Vsq; in sanguineum vertatur lympha colorem,
> Vndaq; sanguinea ex vomitu rebibenda tenellis
> Vsq; valent maribus: sic fit natura parata
> Omnia dura pati: puer hæc cui potio grata,
> Pectore fit valido cuncta expugnare pericla.
>
> And here obserue thou how each childe is-traind,
> To make him fit for Armes he is constraind
> To drinke a potion made of hearbs most bitter,
> Till turnd to blood with casting, whence he 's fitter,
> Induring that to vnder-goe the worst
> Of hard attempts, or what may hurt him most.[1]

See also Winslow, Good Newes from New England, 1624 (Young, ed. 1844, p. 360; 2 Massachusetts Historical Collections, ix. 94); Josselyn, Two Voyages, ed. 1675, p. 60.

108. On this point Cotton Mather had fuller knowledge. In a letter to the Royal Society, 1712, he remarks:

> We have a sort of *Cranes-bill*, which differs little from yours; except perhaps in the Colour of y^e^ *Flowre*, which with us is of sky-blue, and the largeness of y^e^ *Root* which is near that of *Ginger*. Our Indians call it by the name of *Taututtipang;*[2] and from them we learn the manner, and

[1] Reprint for the Club of Odd Volumes, 1895, pp. 6, 19.

[2] Probably Mather wrote *Taututtipoag*.

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strange effect of using it. It is an Infallible cure, and *safely*, and *Quickly*, and easily performs it, for that filthy Disease (the *Lues Venerea*,) which the just Judgment of God had reserved for our later Ages, wherein so many Fools abandon themselves to the destructive Debaucheries of Unchastity.

He then gives details of the method of treatment, and adds that "with no other means, the Wretches, who have been so far gone in the foul disease, as to ly roaring with the Anguish of it, have in about a Fortnights time received a thorough Cure." [1]

James Petiver, F.R.S., remarks in 1717, that Mather had sent him a certain plant, "*Taututtipoag*, so called by the Indians." He quotes Mather's note to the effect that "a *Tea* of this inwardly, and a Pultiss to the Part grieved, is the grand Medicine here for the foul Disease." Petiver adds: — "This is a sort of *Geranium*. Batrachoides, *longiùs* radicatum, *Ray* 31: p. 1061." [2]

The Rev. John Clayton, in replying to Grew's questions about Virginia, remarks: "Among the *Indians* they have a Distemper which they call the *Yaws*, which is nearly related to the *French-pox*; which they are said to cure with an Herb that fluxes them: But this I have only by Hear-say." [3]

I have not found *makerell* elsewhere as the name of an herb or root. Gerard gives "Macrell Mint" as a synonym for "Speare Mint," [4] but this cannot well be the plant to which Lee refers.

Among the curiosities presented to the Royal Society by John Winthrop, F.R.S., in 1734, were "Myrtle berries, of which are made candles and soap. (Myrica.)" and "one of the candles and pieces of the soap." [5] See also Kittredge, The Old Farmer and his Almanack, p. 189.

[1] Letter of November 18, 1712 (addressed to John Woodward, M.D.); in the archives of the Royal Society. I use a copy kindly lent me by Mr. Frederick L. Gay. The letter is excerpted (briefly) in the Philosophical Transactions, No. 339 (for April–June, 1714), xxix. 63–64.

[2] Petiveriana III, seu Naturæ Collectanea, London, 1717, p. 12, col. 2. Mather's letter to Petiver, September 24, 1716, is in Sloane MS. 4065, fol. 255, and the original draught is in the library of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

[3] Philosophical Transactions, No. 454, xli. 149.

[4] Herball, enlarged by Thomas Johnson, 1633, book ii. chap. 225, p. 681 (cited by the Oxford Dictionary).

[5] Selections from an Ancient Catalogue, etc. (extracted from the American Journal of Science, vol. xlvii), New Haven, 1844, p. 6 (from the Journal Book of the Royal Society).

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Mr. ALBERT MATTHEWS spoke as follows:

Ninigret appears to have been a generic name[1] for the sachem of the Niantic Indians. The first Ninigret was a man of note, to whom there are numberless allusions in the literature of the seventeenth century, and died soon after King Philip's War. He married twice, leaving a daughter by one wife and a son and two daughters by another. On his death he was succeeded by his eldest daughter, and she in her turn by her half-brother Ninigret. This Ninigret is rather vaguely stated to have died "some where about 1722."[2] The date is approximately recovered by the account of his funeral given below, taken from the New England Courant of February 4, 1723. As that ceremony took place on January 7, 1723, it is probable that his death occurred early in that month, or possibly late in the preceding month. It will be observed that the writer speaks of the "very imperfect" "Account of this Monarch lately given in the Gazette." This probably appeared in the Boston Gazette of January 21, but unfortunately cannot be recovered, as no copy of that issue is known.

To the Author of the New-England Courant.

SIR, *Newport Rhode-Island. Jan.* 26.

BEing in the Narraganset Country on the 7th Instant, I happen'd to be at the Funeral of no less a Person than King *Ninnicraft*, the chief Sachem of that Part of the Country: And it being usual to favour the Publick with some Account of the Lives and Deaths of Great Person-

[1] The name appears in so many forms that it is not always easy to run down references, as the different forms are often separately indexed. Among the forms are the following: Nenecrat, Nenekrat, Nenekunat, Ninechrat, Ninecraft, Ninecroft, Nenegelett, Ninegrad, Ninegratt, Ninegrett, Niniclade, Ninicraft, Ninicrite, Ninicroft, Niniglud, Ninigret, Ninigrett, Ninnecraft, Ninnecroft, Ninnegret, Ninnicraft, Ninnicroft, Ninnigret, Ninnigrett, Ninnycrate, Ninsecraft, Nonecraft, Nynigrett. For still other forms, see Plymouth Colony Records, ix. 234, x. 485. In addition, the first Ninigret also appears under the names of Anquawas, Ayanemo, Janemoe, Jvanemo, and Wanaconchat.

[2] See E. R. Potter, Jr., Early History of Narragansett, in Collections of the Rhode Island Historical Society (1835), iii. 98–99; W. F. Tucker, Historical Sketch of the Town of Charlestown, in Rhode Island (1877), pp. 23, note, 49, 50; H. C. Dorr, The Narragansetts, in Collections of the Rhode Island Historical Society (1885), vii. 205, 207, 230–233; S. G. Drake, Book of the Indians (1841), bk. ii. pp. 67–82. There is of course uncertainty about the genealogy of the Ninigrets: I follow Potter's account.

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ages, and finding the Account of this Monarch lately given in the Gazette to be very imperfect, if you have room in your next, you may insert as follows. *Viz.* That on the 7th Instant was interr'd at *Westerly* in the Narraganset Country, the most renowned King *Ninnicraft,* who dy'd a few Days before by drinking too largely of that Princely Liquor vulgarly called Rhum, of which he is said to have drank two Gallons at a Sitting. His Bearers were some of the principal Gentlemen of this Government. The Town-Company of English, and a considerable Number of Indians under Arms attended at his Funeral. When they came to the Grave, his Queen open'd the Coffin, and pour'd in a Bottle of Rhum, and it being the King's Favorite Liquor while living, she set two full Bottles in the Coffin, one on each side his Head: Afterwards she laid two Pipes of Tobacco well lighted on his Breast, and a Cake or two of Bread, with a Pot of Nokaeg,[1] were likewise put into the Coffin. The Sachem being thus supply'd with proper and sufficient Provision, the Coffin was nail'd up; upon which a great Mourning follow'd among the Royal Family. The Grave was very large and deep, lin'd at the Bottom and Sides with Matts;[2] and the Corps being let down, and

[1] Cf. p. 178, above.

[2] Tucker says: "About one mile to the north-east of Cross's Mills . . . is located the ancient burial-place of the royal family of the Narragansett Indians. . . . In May, 1859, an event . . . transpired in this town, and it may with propriety be mentioned here. The following citizens . . . repaired to the noted 'Indian Burying Hill,' and there opened a grave, to ascertain in what manner the Indians buried their dead, and to obtain, or collect, if possible, a few of the relics said to be deposited in the graves, as it was customary for them so to do. The grave which they opened was covered with large flat stones, and contained a log coffin. Two logs were split open, making four pieces; these pieces served as bottom, sides and top of the coffin; and were firmly bound together with iron chains. A brass kettle was found at one end of the coffin, and an iron kettle at the other end. Quite a large collection of relics were taken out of this grave, and carried to the village at Cross' Mills, where a portion of them were sent to Brown University in Providence, as I have been informed" (Historical Sketch, pp. 79–80).

Subsequently, continues Tucker, Dr. Usher Parsons of Providence "opened quite a number of graves, to obtain a supply for a repository of scientific curiosities" (p. 80). This must have been in or about 1862, as at the meeting of the Massachusetts Historical Society held in February, 1863, Dr. Parsons "exhibited a large collection of curious relics of the Indians of Rhode Island, recently exhumed near the seashore, on the ground which formerly belonged to the Sachem Ninigret." In January, 1869, shortly after the death of Dr. Parsons, Mr. Robert C. Winthrop said that "many of us cannot fail to remember the enthusiasm which he exhibited in this apartment, when he explained some of the remains which had recently been exhumed, and which were supposed to be those of one of the family of Ninigret." (1 Proceedings, vi. 428, x. 410.) Undoubtedly it was

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neatly cover'd with Rails and Matts, to keep out the Dirt, a second Mourning follow'd, which lasted some time; after which Six or Seven Volleys were fir'd, and the young Prince who is about Seventeen Years of Age, named *George Augustus Ninnicraft*, was declar'd King by one of the Trustees appointed by this Government [1] to take Care of *Ninnicraft's* Estate, which 'tis said is worth about Thirty Thousand Pounds. The Narragansets have a Crown among them made of Wampumpeeg, but the Day of the young King's Coronation is not yet fix'd.[2] The old King was between Fifty and Sixty Years of Age when he dy'd: He was a Person of a comely Stature, and had a Princely Aspect. I can learn nothing remarkable in his Life, but that he was a true Lover of Rhum to the very last. 'Tis said the young King is to be sent to the Grammar-School, in order to be educated at Harvard College; and 'tis not doubted but that in a few Years time he will be able to write a Latin Epitaph on his Father: But that he may not be without one till that Time, I take leave to borrow the two following Lines from the Tomb-Stone of a worthy Magistrate at Narraganset, some time since departed.

He from this Vale of Tears, alas, did go,
Like Shadrach, Meshach, *and* Abed-nego.

I am, SIR, Yours, &c.[3]

How far the writer of the above was serious, or how far he was in jest, it would perhaps be difficult to determine; but the account is interesting, and I think that its main features may be accepted without hesitation. What is said about rum is possibly an exaggeration, yet the fondness of Indians for "that Princely Liquor" is so notorious that it would be rash to assert that Ninigret's widow did not act in the way she is said to have done. I am reminded of a story that was printed many years later in a Boston paper and which

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the old sachem — the first of the name — whose relics Dr. Parsons thought he had found.

But in addition to the place called Burying Hill, "there is," writes Tucker, "another Indian burying ground on Fort Neck, near the site of the old fort, where several graves are now [1877] visible" (Historical Sketch, pp. 80–81). It is possible that the Ninigret whose funeral is described in the text was buried in this place, as some of his descendants or family appear to have been.

[1] About 1709 the Niantic Indians became practically wards of the Colony: see Rhode Island Colonial Records, vol. iv.

[2] See p. 191, below.

[3] New England Courant, February 4, 1723, p. 2.

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I here give, because it shows, what is too often overlooked, that the Indians had a sense of humor. It is as follows:

'Love thy enemies.'

THE New-England Saints (*says an English writer*) *have from time immemorial, most industriously laboured to make good Christians of the Savages on their frontiers. Their intemperate zeal however to make converts, sometimes gives birth to ludicrous circumstances, of which the following is an instance. Some short time ago a party of Indians in that country, reeling with juice of the sugar cane were met by a pious Deacon, who reprimanded them sharply for their indiscretion — The Indians insisted upon it they were good Christians. "Is not the good Christian," said one of them archly, "he who loves his enemies?" The Deacon answered in the affirmative. "Well then," replied the Savage, "Rum is my greatest enemy, and I love it as dear as my life."* [1]

This story, it will be observed, begins with an allusion to "the New England Saints." That was a term of mild derision applied to the New Englanders, which perhaps had its origin in the title of the New England Psalm Book.[2] In 1699 Ned Ward declared that "*Pumpkin Porrage*" was "as much in esteem with *New-England* Saints, as *Jelly Broth* with *Old-England* Sinners."[3] The term appears to have been more common, however, shortly before and during the American Revolution. The following extract, referring to Boston, is taken from a letter signed "Veritas" printed in the London Gazetteer of November 17, 1770:

Know assuredly, that after the next meeting of the select committee of saints, thy house and thy warehouse shall be cursed in every newspaper; and that the *savoury contributions* of the full-charged sons of liberty, instead of sinking into the *impure recesses of Cloacina*, shall

[1] Massachusetts Centinel, July 27, 1785, p. 3/1.

[2] I am indebted to Mr. Gay for reminding me of this title. In the edition bearing the imprint "Cambridge, Printed for Hezekiah Usher, of Boston," published about 1664, the title reads in part: "The Psalms, Hymns, and Spiritual Songs of the Old and New Testament, Faithfully Translated into English Metre. For the use, edification and comfort of the Saints in publick and private, especially in New-England" (Church Catalogue, iii. 1336).

[3] Trip to New-England, London, 1699, p. 7. Ward also says that "they keep no *Saints-Days*, nor will they allow the *Apostles* to be *Saints*, yet they assume that Sacred Dignity to themselves; and say, in the Title Page of their Psalm-Book, *Printed for the Edification of the Saints in* Old *and* New-England" (p. 5). Cf. the preceding note.

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besmear thy dwelling, so that there shall be no going out or coming in in safety; thou shalt be dragged from the arms of thy wife and children; thy naked body shall be covered with tar, and ornamented with feathers; thou shalt be carted before the blessed saints of God through every street of the loyal town; from thence thou shalt he carried to the gallows, and thy quarters shall perch upon the tree of liberty; it shall flourish with new fruit; and thy house, name and carcase shall stink, and be held in abomination throughout all the holy land (p. 2/1).

The Boston Gazette of November 4, 1776 (p. 2/2), stated that "the Ship Julius Cæsar, of about 400 Tons Burthen, Capt. Azariah Uzuld, mounting 10 Carriage Guns, besides Swivels, and had about 25 Men," was taken into Boston the evening before; and in the issue of November 11 were printed two letters of which it was said: "*The following Letters were taken in the Ship Julius Cæsar, Capt. Uzuld, (as mentioned in our last) and now made public for the Amusement of our Readers.*" It was further stated that "*The foregoing Letters are suppos'd to be wrote by that ranting, high flying Church Clergyman, Peters, formerly of Hebron, in Connecticut.*" One of the letters, dated July 7, 1776, signed "Gratitude" and addressed to Thomas Brown of Halifax, contained this passage:

> We hear the King's Chapel is converted into a schism shop, and a pumguntum is holding forth to the rebel General in that sacred place. I could have borne it if the saints had made use of it as a stable for horses. Their sacriledge is not to be parallelled by Oliver, or all his subterraneous brethren (p. 2/2).

Mr. KITTREDGE stated that the New England Courant of February 18, 1723, contained this notice: "We hear from Narraganset, that young Ninnicraft the Indian Prince, has been Crowned there with great Solemnity" (p. 2/2).

Mr. FREDERICK L. GAY communicated a letter written by the Rev. Thomas Shepard (H. C. 1653) of Charlestown, a son of the Rev. Thomas Shepard (1604–1649) of Cambridge, to his son Thomas, who graduated at Harvard College in 1676. Doubtless the letter was written in 1672. The following copy is taken from a commonplace-book written by and belonging to Joseph Green (H. C. 1726), the noted wit, whose name appears on the fly-leaf with the date 1723:

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A LETTER FROM THE REV^D M^R THO^S SHEPHARD TO HIS SON ATT HIS ADMISSION INTO THE COLLEGE.[1]

Dear Son, I think meet (partly from the advice of your renowned Grandfather to myself att my admission into the College, and partly from some other observations I have had respecting studies in that society) to leave the Remembrances and advice following with you, in this great Change of your life, rather in writing, than viva voce only; that so they may be the better considered and improved by you, and may abide upon your heart when I shall be (and that may be sooner than you are aware) taken from thee, and speak no more: requiring you frequently to read over, and seriously to ponder, and digest, as also conscientiously to putt in practice the same through the Lords assistance.

I. Remember the end of your life, which is acoming back again to God, and fellowship with God; for as your great misery is your separation, and estrangement from him, so your happiness, or last end, is your Return again to him; and because there is no coming to God but by Christs Righteousness, and no Christ to be had but by faith, and no Faith without humiliation or sense of your misery, hence therefore let all your Prayers, and tears be, that God would first humble you, that so you may fly by faith to Christ, and come by Christ to God.

II. Remember the End of this turn of your life, vizt your coming into the College, it is to fitt you for the most Glorious work, which God can call you to, vizt the Holy Ministry; that you may declare the Name of God to the Conversion and salvation of souls; for this End, your Father has sett you apart with many Tears, and hath given you up unto God, that he may accept of you; and that he would delight in you.

III. Remember therefore that God looks for and calls for much holiness from you: I had rather see you buried in your Grave, than grow light, loose, wanton, or prophane. God's secretts in the holy scriptures, which are left to instruct Ministers, are never made known to common

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[1] This letter is now printed in full for the first time, though it was printed in part and in garbled form by Cotton Mather in his Magnalia, 1702, book iv. ch. ix. pp. 202–203 (edition of 1853, ii. 144–145), and (from Mather) by John Farmer in the American Quarterly Register, 1836, ix. 116–117. With it should be compared Leonard Hoar's letter of March 27, 1661, to his nephew Josiah Flint (H. C. 1664) (1 Massachusetts Historical Collections, vi. 100–108); and the letter of John Lowell (H. C. 1786) to his son John Amory Lowell (H. C. 1815), dated September 9, 1811 (Harvard Graduates' Magazine, March, 1912, xx. 566–575). Many will not agree with Sibley that Shepard's "Instructions are noticeable for their similarity to Hoar's letter to Flint, cited on pp. 229–232" (Harvard Graduates, i. 334).

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and prophane Spirits: and therefore be sure you begin, and end every Day wherein you study with Earnest prayer to God, lamenting after the favour of God; reading some part of the Scriptures daily; and setting apart some time every Day (tho' but one Quarter of an hour) for meditation of the things of God.

IV. Remember therefore, that tho' you have spent your time in the vanity of Childhood; sports and mirth, little minding better things, yet that now, when come to this ripeness of Admission to the College, that now God and man expects you should putt away Childish things: now is the time come, wherein you are to be serious, and to learn sobriety, and wisdom in all your ways which concern God and man.

V. Remember that these are times and Days of much Light and Knowledge and that therefore you had as good be no Scholar as not excell in Knowledge and Learning. Abhorr therefore one hour of idleness as you would be ashamed of one hour of Drunkenness: Look that you loose not your precious time by falling in with Idle Companions, or by growing weary of your Studies, or by Love of any filthy lust; or by discouragement of heart that you shall never attain to any excellency of Knowledge, or by thinking too well of your self, that you have gott as much as is needfull for you, when you have gott as much as your Equals in the same year; no verily, the Spirit of God will not communicate much to you in a way of Idleness, but will curse your Soul, while this sin is nourished, which hath spoiled so many hopefull youths in their first blossoming in the College: And therefore tho' I would not have you neglect seasons of recreation a little before and after meals (and altho' I would not have you Study late in the night usually, yet look that you rise early and loose not your morning thoughts, when your mind is most fresh, and fitt for Study) but be no wicked example all the Day to any of your Fellows in spending your time Idly: And do not content yourself to do as much as your Tutor setts you about, but know that you will never excell in Learning, unless you do Somewhat else in private Hours, wherein his Care cannot reach you: and do not think that Idling away your time is no great Sin, if so be you think you can hide it from the Eyes of others: but Consider that God, who always sees you, and observes how you Spend your time, will be provoked for every hour of that precious time you now mispend, which you are like never to find the like to this in the College, all your Life after.

VI. Remember that in ordering your Studies you make them as pleasant as may be, and as fruitfull as possibly you are able, that so you may not be weary in the work God setts you about: and for this End remember these Rules, viz[t]

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1, Single out two or three scholars most Godly, Learned and studious, and whom you can most love, and who love you best, to be helps to you in your Studies; Gett therefore into the acquaintance of some of your Equalls, to spend some time with them often in discoursing and disputing about the things you hear and read and learn; as also grow acquainted with some that are your Superiours, of whom you may often ask questions and from whom you may learn more than by your Equals only.

2, Mark every mans Disputations and Conferences, and study to gett some Good by every thing: and if your memory be not very strong, committ every notion this way gained unto Paper as soon as you gett into your Study.

3, Lett your studies be so ordered as to have variety of Studies before you, that when you are weary of one book, you may take pleasure (through this variety) in another: and for this End read some Histories often, which (they Say) make men wise, as Poets make witty;[1] both which are pleasant things in the midst of more difficult studies.

4, Lett not your Studies be prosecuted in an immethodicall or Disorderly way; but (for the Generality) keep a fixed order of Studies Suited to your own Genius, and Circumstances of things, which in each year, att least, notwithstanding, there will be occasion of some variation of: Fix your Course, and the season for each kind of Study, and suffer no other matters, or Persons needlessly to interrupt you, or take you off therefrom.

5, Lett difficult studies have the strength and flower of your time and thoughts : and therein suffer no difficulty to pass unresolved, but either by your own labour, or by enquiry of others, or by both, master it before you pass from it; pass not cursorily or heedlessly over such things (rivet the knottyest place you meet with) 'tis not so much *multa Lectio sed sedula et attenta* that makes a scholar, as our Phrase speaks.

6, Come to your Studies with an Appetite, and weary not your body, mind, or Eyes with long poreing on your book, but break off & meditate on what you have read, and then to it again; or (if it be in fitt season) recreate your Self a little, and so to your work afresh; let your recreation be such as may stir the Body chiefly, yet not violent, and whether such or sedentry, let it be never more than may Serve to make your Spirit the more free and lively in your Studies.

7, Such books, as it is proper to read over, if they are very choice and not overlarge, read them over oftener than once: if it be not your

[1] "*Histories* make Men Wise; *Poets* Witty; The *Mathematicks* Subtill; *Naturall Philosophy* deepe; *Morall* Graue; *Logick* and *Rhetorick* Able to Contend" (Bacon, Of Studies, in Essayes, 1625, p. 294).

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own and that you are not like to procure it, then collect out of such book what is worthy to be noted therein: in which Collections take these Directions, (1) Write not in loose Papers, but in a fair Paper-book paged thro'out. (2) Write faithfully the words of your Author. (3) Sett down in your Paper-book the name of your Author, with the title of his book, and the page, where you find the Collection. (4) Allow a margin to your paper-book no broader than wherein you may write the letters. a. b. c. d. e. f &c. vizt att the beginning of each observable Collection, if you have more Collections than two or three in a side. (5) When you have written out such a book being marked with some distinguishing character (as 1. 2. 3. 4. &c. or α, β, γ, δ, &c.) prepare another of the same dimensions as near as you can, and improve that as the former, and so onwards: which book may be (as the Merchants Journal is to his principal Ledger) preparatory for your Common-place book, as your reason and fancy will easily Suggest how, by Short reference of any subject to be handled, found in, (suppose) the paper book, β. page 10. margine f. Suppose the subject be [Faith] you need only write in your Common place book [Faith] vide β. 10, f: if the Subject be [hope] write [hope, γ 10 d.] which signifies that there is some Description of that Subject [hope] or some sentence about hope that is observable, or some story concerning that Vertue, & ye like; In the third paper book marked with [γ] and in the tenth page of that book, begun in the margin at the letter [d] [b] as you have leisure, read over your paper books, wherein you have writen your Collections at large, the frequent perusal thereof will many ways be useful to you as your Experience will in time witness.

8, Choose rather to confess your Ignorance in any matter of Learning, that you may instructed by your Tutor, or another, as there may be occasion for it, than to pass from it, and so continue in your Ignorance thereof, or in any Errour about it; malo te doctum esse quam haberi.

9, Suffer not too much to be spent, and break away in visits (visiting, or being visited) let them be Such as may be a whett to you in your studies, and for your profitt in Learning some way of other, so that you be imparting to others or imparted to from them, or both, in some notion of other, upon all Such occasions.

10, Study the art of reducing all you read to practice in your orations &c: turning and improving elegantly to words and notions, and fancy of your authour to Sett of quite another subject; a delicate example whereof you have in your Chrystiados, whereof Ross is the author, causing Virgil to Evangelize:[1] and as in your orations, so in all you do,

[1] "Virgilii Evangelisantis Christiados Libri XIII. . . . Instante Alexandro Rosseo Aberdonese. . . . Londini, . . . 1638." There is a copy of this edition

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labour for exactness, and acurateness, let not crude, lame, bungling Stuff come out of your Study: and for that end, see that you neither play nor sleep, nor idle away a moments time within your Study door, but remember your Study is your work-house only, and place of prayer.

11, So frame an order your Studies, that the one may be a furtherance to the other (the Tongues to the arts and the arts to the Tongues) and endeavour that your first years Studies may become a Clue to lead you on the more clearly, strongly, profitably, & chearfully to the Studies of the years following, making all still usefull, and subservient to Divinity, and so will your profiting in all be the more Perspicuous and methodicall.

12, Be sparing in your Diet, as to meat and drink, that so after any repast your body may be a servant to your mind, and not a Clogg and Burden.

13, Take pains in, and time for preparing in private for your recitations, declamations, disputations, and such other exercises as you are called to attend before your Tutor or others; do not hurry them off indigestly, no not under pretence of Studying some other matter first: but first (I Say in the first place) attend those (straiten not your self in time for the thorough dispatch thereof) and then afterwards you may apply yourself as aforesaid to your private and more proper Studies; In all which, mind that reading without meditation will be in a great measure unprofitable, and rawness and forgetfulness will be the Event: but meditation without reading will be barren soon; therefore read much that so you may have plenty of matter for meditation to work upon; and here I would not have you forgett a speech of your precious Grandfather to a Scholar that complained to him of a bad memory, which did discourage him from reading much in History, or other books, his answer was, [Lege! lege! aliquid haerebit] So I say to you read! read! something will stick in the mind, be diligent and good will come of it: and that Sentence in Prov. 14. 23. deserves to be written in letters of Gold upon your study-table [in all labour there is profitt &c] yet also know that reading, and meditation without prayer, will in the End be both blasted by the holy God, and therefore,

VII. Remember that not only heavenly and spiritual and Supernatural knowledge descends from God, but also all naturall, and humane learning, and abilities; and therefore pray much, not only for the one

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in the Boston Athenaeum. A notice of the Rev. Alexander Ross (1591–1654) will be found in the Dictionary of National Biography. It is interesting to note that he died "at Bramshill, where he was living with Sir Andrew Henley," the latter of whom was the brother of Mary Henley, the first wife of Sir Matthew Holworthy. (See Publications of this Society, xiii. 167 note, 170 note 1).

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but also for the other from the Father of Lights, and mercies; and remember that prayer att Christs feet for all the learning you want, shall fetch you in more in an hour, than possibly you may gett by all the books, and helps you have otherwise in many years.

VIII. Remember to be Grave (not Childish) and amiable and loving toward all the Scholars, that you may win their hearts and Honour.

IX. Remember now to be watchful against the two great Sins of many Scholars; the first is youthful Lusts, speculative wantoness, and secret filthiness, which God sees in the Dark, and for which God hardens and blinds young mens hearts, his holy Spirit departing from such, unclean Styes. The second is malignancy and secret distaste of Holiness and the Power of Godliness, and the Professors of it, both these sins you will quickly fall into, unto your own perdition, if you be not carefull of your Company, for there are and will be such in every Scholasticall Society for the most part, as will teach you how to be filthy and how to jest, and Scorn at Godliness, and the professors thereof, whose Company I charge you to fly from as from the Devil, and abhor: and that you may be kept from these, read often that Scripture Prov. 2. 10. 11. 12, 16.

X. Remember to intreat God with Tears before you come to hear any Sermon, that thereby God would powerfully speak to your heart, and make his truth precious to you: neglect not to write after the preacher always, and write not in loose sheets but in handsome Paperbooks; and be carefull to preserve and peruse the Same. And upon the Sabbath days make exceeding Conscience of Sanctification; mix not your other Studies, much less Idleness, or vain and casual discourses with the Duties of that holy Day; but remember that Command Lev. 19. 30. Ye shall keep my Sabbaths and reverence my Sanctuary, I am the Lord.

XI. Remember that whensoever you read, hear or conceive of any Divine truth, you Study to affect your heart with it and the Goodness of it. Take heed of receiving Truth into your head without the Love of it in your heart, lest God give you up to strong Delusions to believe lyes, and that in the Conclusion all your learning shall make you more fitt to decieve your Self and others. Take heed lest by seing things with a form of Knowledge, the Lord do not bind you by that Knowledge the more, that in seing you shall not see: If therefore God revealeth any truth to you att any time, be sure you be humbly and deeply thankfull: and when he hides any truth from you, be sure you lie down, and loath yourself, and be humble: the first degree of wisdom is to know and feel your own folly.

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2 Tim. 2.7. Consider what I say and the Lord give thee understanding in all things.

Prov. 23. 15. My Son, if thine heart be wise, my heart shall rejoice, even mine.

Pater tuus

T. SHEPARD

Copied from the original.

Mr. MATTHEWS made the following remarks:

A year ago, after Professor Kittredge had communicated An Irish Song relating to Washington, I stated that "at the close of the Revolution Washington received a congratulatory address from the Yankee Club of Stewartstown, County Tyrone, Ireland," and that "this address has apparently not been preserved," though I quoted an extract from Washington's reply.[1] Shortly after that meeting, in looking over some notes, I turned up a reference, made so many years before that I had forgotten about it, showing that the address was printed in a Boston newspaper in 1784. The address begins as follows:

ANNAPOLIS, [*Maryland*] *April* 29.

The following address was communicated to the printers by the gentlemen through whose hands it was transmitted.

His EXCELLENCY GEORGE WASHINGTON, *Esq*; *Captain General and Commander in Chief of the Armies of the* UNITED STATES *of* NORTH-AMERICA.

SIR,

AT an early period of the contest in which you have been so gloriously engaged, our sentiments met those of the Americans, and though we long doubted the event, our warmest wishes were ever on the side of freedom. Viewing with regret the oppressive scenes of misery under which our native country has long groaned without hopes of redress; and seeing the same direful principle of despotick sway pervading all the courts and countries of the world; we rejoiced to hear that the spirit of America had risen superior to the proud menaces of both regal and ministerial oppression; had thrown off the galling yoke of slavery, and nobly spurned the fetters that were to bind her in all cases whatever.

The address then goes on to say that the situation "for a long time damped our hopes;" that they could not see "how an infant

[1] Publications, xiii. 259.

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country" "could cope with an antient, powerful and victorious nation;" that it was equally difficult to imagine "who would lead those unexperienced, though zealous bands, to freedom and independence;" that the information that Washington "had undertaken the arduous task" "revived our expectations and filled us with a kind of veneration for such a character;" that they were "lost in admiration of that wisdom, magnanimity, and perseverance, which by triumphing over every danger, established the liberties of the United States on the most honourable and permanent basis;" that Washington's "exertions have not only vindicated the freedom of your country, but have also shed their benign influence over the distressed kingdom of Ireland;" that to Washington "we acknowledge ourselves indebted for our late happy deliverance, from as baneful a system of policy as ever disgraced the rights of mankind;" and concludes as follows:

> And that you, Sir, may long live to enjoy the fruits of your wisdom and magnaminity, to be a terror to tyrants, and shine forth as a glorious example of disinterested virtue and future patriotism, is and will be the constant prayer of, your much obliged, most obedient, and most humble servants.
>
> Signed in the name of the Society,
>
> ALEXANDER DAVIDSON, Chairman.
>
> From the Yankee Club of Stewartstown, in the county of Tyrone, and province of Ulster, Ireland.
>
> June 7, 1783.[1]

So much has already appeared in our Transactions[2] relating to early celebrations of Washington's birthday, that I hesitate to offer anything more on the subject; yet the following account is of interest because it affords, if I mistake not, an early instance of a celebration of any description by the students of Harvard College. This affair took place on February 22, 1796, and is thus described in a Boston newspaper:

UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE.

The Colleges were on *Monday* night beautifully illuminated, in consequence of an application of the students to do that honor to the virtues

[1] Massachusetts Centinel, May 22, 1784, pp. 1–2.

[2] Publications, x. 253–258, xi. 195, xii. 254, xiii. 96–99.

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of their admired WASHINGTON. At *Cambridge*, that great man began his arduous task for our benefit. Here it was he suffered anxieties inexpressible, as he dared not cummunicate them to his colleagues lest possibly the enemy should know that he had not even the instruments of defence — Here he began his career of glory, and from that time to the present, has been regarded as the most illustrious character, that has ever appeared on the theatre of human actions.

The best feelings of the heart are gratified, when we see the students of this antient seminary trying to do homage to virtues which far transcend those of any hero, of whom they read. For our WASHINGTON, unites by an uncommon assemblage, the talents of the warrior with the wisdom of the sage. We owe him much as our General, but more as our PRESIDENT, and the effusions of admiration and gratitude poured forth on the occasion of his birth day, by the studious youth, the pride and hopes of our country, may be not ungrateful to this *first of citizens*, while it shows to the world at large another instance of this comforting truth, "*where knowledge is cultivated, there WASHINGTON is honoured, throughout the Union.*"

These young men, preserved what they professed, a consistency of conduct, saying to each other, it would be disgraceful to pretend to honor WASHINGTON with riot and disorder. They accordingly retired to their chambers before nine o'clock, and by the time the bells ceased ringing there was not a light to be seen in any of the buildings. Ye teachers of youth! learn from the conduct of these young men, the powerful effect of a great and brilliant example, and never cease to operate on their noblest feelings, if you wish to retain the Roman idea of *Education*.*

Although but two hours was allowed, so suddenly was the business of illuminating the colleges projected, that precisely at 7 o'clock upwards of 3700 lights, glittering at the same time, appeared the effect of enchantment.

* Educere.[1]

On showing this extract to a friend, he remarked upon the surprisingly early hour at which the boys went to their chambers, leading him to conclude that "they had no great enthusiasm over the celebration and that it was pumped up patriotism for the occasion." The criticism is a perfectly natural one, and yet we must bear two things in mind. First, the stilted language of that day is repug-

[1] Columbian Centinel, February 24, 1796, p. 2/4. For the derivation of "education," see Greenough and Kittredge, Words and their Ways in English Speech, pp. 230–231.

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nant to us at the present time, and might lead to erroneous conclusions. Second, it occurred to me that the early hour of retiring was perhaps due not to inclination but to necessity. This proves to have been the case, for the Laws of Harvard College, published at Boston in 1790, contain this provision:

CHAP. III.

Of ATTENDANCE *on* COLLEGIATE EXERCISES; *Of* VACATIONS *and* ABSENCE.

I.

THAT the Scholars may make the best improvement of their time, they shall keep in their respective chambers, and diligently follow their studies, excepting half an hour after breakfast; from twelve to two; and, after evening prayers, until nine o'clock.

If any Undergraduates shall be absent from their chambers in the hours assigned for study, or after nine o'clock in the evening, without sufficient reasons, they shall be fined not exceeding eight pence (p. 10).[1]

[1] The Laws published at Boston in 1798 contain the same provision, except that the fine is altered from "eight pence" to "eleven cents."

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MARCH MEETING, 1912

A STATED MEETING of the Society was held at No. 25 Beacon Street, Boston, on Thursday, 28 March, 1912, at three o'clock in the afternoon, ANDREW MCFARLAND DAVIS, A.M., in the chair.

The Records of the last Stated Meeting were read and approved.

The CORRESPONDING SECRETARY reported that letters had been received from Mr. LINCOLN NEWTON KINNICUTT and Mr. SAMUEL ELIOT MORISON, accepting Resident Membership; and from Mr. EDWARD VANDERHOOF BIRD, accepting Corresponding Membership.

The Hon. ROBERT GRANT of Boston was elected a Resident Member.

Mr. ANDREW MCF. DAVIS read the following remarks:

A VISIT TO THE ARCHIVES OF WESTMINSTER ABBEY

The title of my paper does not suggest the idea that the paper itself is appropriate for submission to the consideration of this Society. Nor will it be found when it shall have been read that there is within its contents any historical matter of a local nature upon which its presentation at this meeting can be justified. It is nevertheless the outcome of a research originally undertaken for the purpose of elucidating certain recondite facts in the financial history of this Colony and the experience herein portrayed was the direct result of an attempt to obtain knowledge which might perhaps bear on the subject. If this thread should prove too slender to connect the story of a personal experience with the more solid labors in historical study of the members of this Society, there may still be urged the plea that in any case the narrative of such an

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event will show that even in the prosecution of an apparently uninviting research one may be rewarded with unexpected pleasure.

In August, 1894, I was in London, and one morning while glancing over the columns of a daily newspaper I ran across a paragraph stating that the Dean of Westminster Abbey having left town the day before, Canon Wilberforce would for the time being perform the functions of that office. The sight of the title of the Abbey in this public announcement recalled to my mind the fact that in the Fourth Report of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts I had seen a calendar of the documents in the archives of Westminster Abbey which included a paper that purported to refer to a bank in the time of Charles the Second. Just previous to my visit to London I had made a thorough examination of the English literature of the seventeenth century bearing upon the subject of banking, and was exceedingly anxious to see an original paper that could properly be described as dealing with the affairs of a contemporary bank of that date. If the description of the paper thus given should prove to be correct, it would be difficult to account for the fact that the contemporary writers whose works I had carefully perused should have made no mention of such a bank. On the other hand, while the inference was justifiable that the date of the entry was wrong, it was impossible for me to assert *ex cathedra* that the person who made the calendar had committed an error. Inasmuch as the existence of a bank at this time had escaped the observation and knowledge of historical writers, any facts concerning it that investigation might reveal would be eagerly welcomed by historical and economic students. It was with some trepidation, therefore, that I learned that the Dean of the Abbey was out of town, since I might through this cause be cut off from access to the archives, but it was evident that even in the absence of the Dean it might be possible to secure a sight of the paper through the courtesy of Canon Wilberforce. I, therefore, applied to the Canon for permission to inspect it. As matters turned out, the absence from town of the Dean of the Abbey was perhaps actually advantageous for me. I found in Canon Wilberforce a man deeply interested in archaeology and a sympathizer with those engaged in historical research. He promptly replied to my request that if I would call at his house in Dean's Yard at a given time he would make arrangements for giving me access to this document.

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At the appointed hour I reported at Dean's Yard, and was cordially received by the Canon. He took me upstairs in his residence and showed me a chamber which was frescoed in a background of dark color, bearing a pattern with quaint figures and archaic designs. This fresco he told me had been concealed by a superimposed coat of plaster. Suspecting the existence of some decoration beneath the plaster, he had caused it to be carefully removed and had thus revealed the fresco, the discovery of which had greatly interested the archaeologists of London. It was of great age (the exact conjectural date escapes my memory), but a probable time for its construction had been assigned. He then took me into his dining-room, the ceiling of which was a groined vault of stone. This room was at a slightly lower level than the ground floor of the house, and he told me that it had been used for a coal cellar and wine vault. Noticing the height of the groining above the level of the ground, he saw that by cutting a door to furnish a suitable entrance and by making an opening for a window through which to obtain light, he could convert the vault into a beautiful room. The result was successful in the extreme. Light was secured as suggested and all was accomplished without disfiguring the architectural effect of the ancient house.

After this inspection we proceeded to an office attached to the cloisters, where, by appointment, an official styled the Clerk of the Works was to take me in charge. On the way thither we stopped at the Chapter House of the Abbey for a moment, to enable Canon Wilberforce to point out the memorial to the poet Lowell, which had recently been placed there.

The cloisters of the Abbey lie on the south side of the nave, to the west of the south transept. They actually infringe upon the transept and occupy a portion of the space which if the interior area of the church had been assigned to the several parts with an eye to symmetry would have been included in the west aisle of the south transept.

There are two entrances from the cloisters to the church. If one goes in at the east door he will, when fairly within the church, realize that he is abreast of the choir, and that he is directly opposite the west aisle of the north transept, the entrance to which transept from the street is the one most familiar to visitors to the Abbey. To the west of one entering by the door first mentioned, lies the nave, a portion

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of which is occupied by the choir. To the east lies the south transept containing within its limits the Poets' Corner, and beyond this a wealth of chapels and tombs in that portion of the building which in cathedrals is generally devoted to the choir, but which in this abbey church is sepulchral in character. Between the interior of the church and so much of the east walk of the cloisters as adjoins the south transept, there is a solid wall which is actually within the boundaries of the church structure, but to the eye seems to be the massive exterior of the building. This wall constitutes the western boundary of the Poets' Corner, and at the junction with the nave, turns to the west and connects with the south wall of the nave. It is through a doorway in this interior wall that the east entrance to the church from the cloisters is effected. This may not be clear, but as a matter of fact a portion of the east walk of the cloisters is actually within the external lines of the church. Knowledge of these details as to the relation of the site of the cloisters to the interior of the church will help to understand the location of the archives of the Abbey. Proceeding from the Chapter House to our place of appointment in the cloisters we there met an elderly man, in the service of the Abbey, whom Canon Wilberforce introduced as the Clerk of the Works. I was turned over to this official and instructions were given him to take me to the library in order that I might inspect the document of which I was in search.

The library is in the upper part of one of the buildings attached to the Abbey in a large room which is said formerly to have been a dormitory. The room was surrounded with shelves which were loaded with old books, mainly quartos, bound in leather which had turned black with age. In the middle of the room was a long table and on the table was a single book the binding of which furnished the only bit of color in the room. The volume was a thick octavo and the cloth binding was of a brilliant scarlet. Curiosity led me to investigate the title of this modern intruder and I found it to be a catalogue of the Chicago Exposition.

I had provided myself with the numerical notation by which the paper of which I was in search was designated in the Fourth Report of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts. My first step therefore was to investigate the system by which the places on the shelves were indicated in the volumes constituting the library. A glance at the shelf-marks of two or three volumes was enough to

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satisfy me that the numbers on the paper did not belong to any system made use of for the books in the library.

Was it possible that there were any manuscripts in the room? If so might they not be filed away under a special system of numerical designation which might comprehend those numbers assigned in the report to my paper? Such were the suggestions that occurred to me, and turning to the Clerk of the Works I asked him whether there were any manuscripts in the room. He pondered for a moment and then shook his head. "Is there any other place in the Abbey where there is a collection of papers in which the one that I am in search of might be found?" "Yes, there is," said he, after a moment's reflection. "It might be in the archives." "Is it possible for you to take me there?" Again a brief hesitation and then he said, "Yes, but I shall have to ask you to wait in the cloisters while I get the keys."

Returning to the cloisters, my obliging escort disappeared for a short space of time and then reported again. This time he was armed with several large keys all of an archaic type, keys such as you see exposed in museums, made at a time when the larger the lock and the greater the size of the key the more the confidence that was placed in the resisting powers of the bolt. Passing to the east walk of the cloisters, he opened a door flush with the wall in which it was situated which gave access to a circular staircase within. Up this staircase we mounted till we reached a door which opened out onto a sort of balcony, attached to the outside wall of the building. The floor of this balcony was of plank and the supports and railing were of iron. We stepped out onto the balcony and proceeded for a short distance when we came to another door in the wall which was fastened with a huge padlock at least three inches in diameter and correspondingly thick. When this was unlocked and the door thrown open, we stepped through the doorway and found ourselves inside the church upon a platform with a heavy stone balustrade which seemed to be over a portion of the south transept. Looking over the balustrade one could see the Poets' Corner immediately below.

I have already called attention to the curious structural fact that the north and south transepts of the church are not of equal width, the western aisle of the south transept having been taken over into the cloisters. This has been accomplished in such a way as to make it very difficult to tell what the exterior lines of the church are at that

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point. A person standing inside the church at the doorway which communicates with the eastern walk of the cloisters and looking out to the southward, has upon his left hand a solid wall and on his right a series of piers with openings between them through which he can see the cloister garth. The wall in which is pierced the doorway where he stands, and the wall alongside the cloister walk, at right angles to it, which he sees to his left, are both, as has already been stated, entirely within the church and are not carried up even to the lower lines of the triforium, while on the other hand the first three piers on his right in the cloisters support the main wall of the church.

The balustraded platform upon which we had entered from the balcony, and from which we could look down upon the Poets' Corner, must have been over what should architecturally have been the west aisle of the south transept and the area of the platform apparently corresponded with that which the aisle itself should have occupied on the floor of the church. We were therefore immediately over that portion of the cloisters from which we had entered. Moreover, the staircase up which we had clambered must have been within the heavy pier at the southwest corner of the south transept.

On the west side of this platform a rudely constructed board partition had been thrown up, thus creating a room perhaps twelve or fifteen feet square, entrance to which was effected through a door which was locked at the time of our arrival but which readily yielded to the persuasion of our conductor. Beyond this temporary structure on the platform, a table, also of a temporary character, was improvised. At that time it was vacant and there was no indication of its purpose.

Entering the temporary room constructed on the platform we found on the wall to our right a series of pigeon holes, or compartments, with shelves, each deep enough and large enough to admit of holding a number of documents, and within these receptacles were filed away a large number of papers and documents. An examination of some of these papers plainly showed that the numerical system by which they were severally designated evidently might and probably did comprehend the paper of which I was in search. The room was lighted by a window cut in the wall directly opposite the door which apparently was of modern construction. Selecting from the papers in the racks a bundle which contained papers bearing numbers corresponding closely with the notations on my paper, and which indeed

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seemed to promise that the paper itself was to be found therein, I went over to the window and ran through the bundle without finding the document. There were many papers in this bundle and they varied in size from voluminous documents many pages in length to thin papers of merely one or two pages. The paper of the different documents also varied. Some of the pages were heavy and stiff, others were thin and flexible.

My disappointment was of course very great. Here was the place where the paper ought to be found and in my hands I held the bundle which by its numerical designations ought to contain it. The only explanation that I could give of the dilemma in which I found myself was that I might have made a mistake in copying the number from the Fourth Report of the Commission on Historical Manuscripts. I ought perhaps to have gone over my work again and examined afresh every paper of the heterogeneous collection in the bundle, but I felt some compunctions at having monopolized so long the time of my good-natured conductor and therefore announced that I would give up the search.

Before leaving the room he called my attention to two trunks standing on the floor, old fashioned trunks, with arched tops, the exteriors covered with calf skin with the hair left on. Lifting the lid of one of these trunks he showed me that the body of the trunk was filled with illuminated parchment documents, each bearing a large wax seal, two or three inches in diameter, attached thereto by ribbons,—documents apparently, that we should place in a glass case and gaze upon with wonder at the skill displayed in their preparation.

Returning to the cloisters I had quite a talk with the Clerk of the Works before leaving the Abbey. He was an interesting man, had at one time been an under-gardener in the service of the Queen, and now was as enthusiastic in his love of the Abbey as Dean Stanley himself. "I know every stone in the Abbey," he said, and he claimed that in certain parts of the exterior walls, especially in the cloisters, he had renewed many of them. When one considers how soft and friable is the stone of which the Abbey is built, this claim does not seem unreasonable.

It was an easy matter to test my conjecture that I might have made an error in transcribing the number given to my paper in the published calendar. There were several places where I could consult

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the Fourth Report of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts. One of them was the office of Stevens and Brown at Trafalgar Square. I felt sure that the invariable courtesy which they were in the habit of extending to Americans seeking for information on historical points would not be denied me, and therefore in due course of time I went to that office. The Report of the Commission was kindly placed at my disposal, and in a few minutes I knew that I had made no mistake in transcribing the number, and I felt sure that I must actually have had the sought for document in my hands. There were several ways in which it might have escaped me, the most probable being that it was one of the thin papers and had become attached to or folded in one of the larger and heavier documents in the bundle.

The question now was, would the good nature of the Clerk of the Works hold out to give me a second look at the bundle of papers in which I suspected that the document must be filed. There was but one way to find that out and that was to go to the Abbey and ask him to take me again to the archives. This I did, either the next day or the day after, with the result that I was not only received by him with cordiality, but he at once secured the keys necessary for our purpose. Thus equipped for our expedition we were proceeding along the cloisters towards the entrance to the staircase when we were stopped by some functionary of the Abbey who inquired where we were going. We explained the nature of our errand, and stated that the search for the paper had been authorized by Canon Wilberforce. Notwithstanding this, the person who had interrupted our progress positively prohibited the Clerk of the Works from taking me to the archives, but to my great satisfaction he added to this prohibition the following words: "Mr. Scott of the British Museum is now engaged in making a calendar of these documents. He comes here every day at four o'clock in the afternoon with an assistant. When he comes you can go in with him." In effect then his prohibition would result in nothing more than an inconvenience, provided Mr. Scott was to go up to the archives, either that day or in the course of a few days.

There was one way in which I might obtain knowledge on that question and that was to go to the Museum and ask Mr. Scott personally when he was going to visit the archives. This I proceeded to to do.

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Access to the office of an official of the Museum was to be gained only by the exercise of the usual formalities which protect workers in public places from the intrusion of idlers. I sent up my card to Mr. Scott and in due time was conducted through a side passage, up a flight of stairs, and was admitted to his office. I was courteously but frigidly received. I had no credentials and Mr. Scott on his part was not prepared to encourage strangers to call upon him for aid in getting access to the archives of the Abbey. Our conversation, therefore, after I had told him my errand and explained that I had called solely for the purpose of ascertaining if he were going over to the Abbey that afternoon, consisted on his part in a series of affirmations that he could not possibly take any person with him into the archives; that he did not understand why I had been sent to him; that he had nothing to do with visitors to the Abbey, and other and similar protests, which, on the whole, were neither unreasonable nor unexpected. In response, I on my part assured him that I did not ask him to take me into the archives; that I did not wish him to assume any responsibility whatever for me in this matter; that the linking of my visit to the archives to his work was not my doing, and that the only purpose that I had in intruding upon him was to ascertain if he were actually going to the Abbey that afternoon to continue his work in the archives. After fencing me off for some time, Mr. Scott ultimately yielded to the persistence with which I stuck to my inquiry, and told me that he was going that afternoon to the Abbey, adding to this information the statement, "and it is fortunate for you that you came to-day, for to-morrow I am going to Normandy to spend my vacation."

At four o'clock that afternoon I was in waiting at the entrance to the cloisters. I was chatting with the Clerk of the Works when the chimes rang out the hour. It was perhaps five minutes past four o'clock, when Mr. Scott with his assistant arrived on the scene walking rapidly and evidently in great haste. If he had entertained any doubts as to the story which I had told him they must have disappeared when he saw me with the Clerk of the Works waiting for his arrival. Whether this were so or not, he came forward hurriedly, and his first words were those of apology for being late. "I hope I have n't kept you waiting, sir," he said; "I was detained and prevented from arriving here on time."

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The keys were produced and we went up to the room in which the archives were deposited. I submitted the number of my paper to him, and he at once took up the bundle which I had already examined and with the aid of his assistant proceeded to examine the numbers of the papers in the bundle. The care with which they separated and examined the several papers included in the bundle precluded the possibility of any, even the smallest, escaping them. As they turned over paper after paper and the number remaining unexamined in the bundle grew smaller and smaller I began to be afraid that after all my search had been only too complete; but this proved not to be the case, for when only one or two papers remained to be examined Mr. Scott handed me a small paper which when unfolded proved to be about the size of a half sheet of small note paper. The paper was thin and the file so small that it obviously might have adhered to some other paper, perhaps have found its way between the leaves of a larger document.

The entry in the Report of the Royal Commission which had made me desirous of seeing the document read as follows: "Temp. Charles II. A paper endorsed 'A list of the names of the persons concerned in the late Bancke beinge Governors thereof,' beginning with Lord Jermyn" (p. 195). Taking the paper up to the window I first examined this endorsement. As I read it over I saw that the words interpreted by the cataloguer as "late Bancke" were in reality "land Bancke." The presence of Mr. Scott, a man undoubtedly familiar with the chirography of that period, furnished me with an opportunity to test the accuracy of my judgment. I submitted the words to his inspection and he without hesitation pronounced me to be right. This discovery that there was an error in the published endorsement of the paper did not throw light enough upon the subject to enable me to fix its date on the spot, but it did reduce the probable value of the paper as an historical document. It was at any rate worth copying, and with that intent I took out a block of paper that I had brought with me and began to copy the document. "What are you going to do?" said Mr. Scott. "I am going to copy this paper," said I. "You do not suppose that I can wait while you copy that document! If you want to copy it take it down to the office of the Clerk of the Works and make your copy there." "Look here, Mr. Scott," said I, "I have come here to get a copy of this document.

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You have come here with your assistant to calendar these papers. Suppose you go about your work just as though I were not here, and let me sit at your table and make my copy where you are at work. Then you can see what I am doing with the paper and I can return it to your custody when I am through with it. That will be much better for all of us than sending me down to the office of the Clerk of the Works with the paper." To this he assented and I made my copy at his table as I had suggested, thanked him for his assistance, and bore away with me the copy which had cost me so much trouble.

Subsequent examination showed that the document was undoubtedly a memorandum connected with the formation of the Land Bank which is described in a tract entitled "The Settlement of the Land-Bank. Established Anno Dom. 1695," which tract was republished by Lord Somers.[1] It was as its title indicated a mere list of names, and although of little value, still, as the list had never before been made public, I caused it to be published in a note in Currency and Banking in Massachusetts Bay (II. 56–57). The experience of running it down had been interesting. The zest of the search had been reduced by incredulity on my part as to the existence of any bank in the days of Charles the Second, indeed had the entry in the report read "land bank" instead of "late bank" my interest in the document would probably not have been stimulated to the extent of arousing me to the activity of actual search. The air was full of talk about banks in the last days of Charles the Second and much speculation was indulged in about land banks. These speculations did not, however, materialize until, under the skilful manipulation of William Paterson, the Bank of England was organized in 1694. While, therefore, I cannot take credit for having contributed through this search any material of value to the economic history of this period, I can nevertheless look back with gratitude upon the catalogue of the Fourth Report of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts for having aroused my interest to such an extent as to furnish me with an experience full of pleasant memories.

Mr. CHESTER N. GREENOUGH made the following communication:

[1] Collection of Scarce and Valuable Tracts (1814), xi. 16–34.

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JOHN DUNTON'S LETTERS FROM NEW ENGLAND

Even though the historical literature of New England were far richer than it is in such diaries as those of Samuel Sewall and Cotton Mather and in such observations as those of Lechford and Josselyn, there would still be an honorable place for such a document as we apparently have in John Dunton's Letters from New England. Nothing could be more welcome than the record of a London bookseller who spent five months in Boston in the critical year 1686, whose point of view is that of a friendly outsider, whose acquaintance included not merely the clergy and the magistrates but many other types as well, whose observation comprehended Indians, adventurers, tavern-keepers, picnics, sermons, and executions, and whose portraits of people are perhaps more numerous, as they certainly are more vivid, than those of almost any other writer of that time and place. The wonder would seem to be that more extensive use has not been made of a record of which the date, contents, and point of view lead us to expect so much. Not that Dunton has been wholly neglected: many historians [1] have made use of him, and one or two [2] have praised in the highest terms the truthfulness and insight of his portraits. These portraits do, indeed, deserve our close attention.

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[1] Among others, Palfrey, History of New England, iii. 60 n, 69 n, 487 n; Sibley, Harvard Graduates, ii. 17, 130, 240, 266, 280, 304; Winsor, Memorial History of Boston, ii. 199, 413 n, 433, 495, 500, iv. 531; G. E. Littlefield, Early Boston Booksellers, pp. 139–143; S. G. Drake, History and Antiquities of Boston, 1856, pp. 459–467, 472 note, 595 and note.

[2] "In the description of the Boston old maid — which must be taken entire if we would comprehend its truthfulness and its characteristic revelation of the time — the gay traveller [Dunton] records what he saw" (W. B. Weeden, Economic and Social History of New England, i. 299–300). This particular portrait, of which we shall say more later, may be found in the Letters from New England, pp. 98–102, or in the Life and Errors, i. 102–103.

Whitmore (Introduction to the Letters, p. xxiv, Boston, Prince Society, 1867) regards these letters "as unique sketches of New-England life, honestly drawn, and defective rather than erroneous." Whitmore also (p. xviii) thinks that "the portraits of Mrs. Breck, Mrs. Green, and Comfort Wilkins, are descriptions of such Puritans as we may be proud to claim for Massachusetts."

Throughout this article references to Dunton's Letters from New England are to Whitmore's edition made for the Prince Society, and — unless the contrary is stated — references to Dunton's Life and Errors are to J. B. Nichols's edition, in two volumes, London, 1818.

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But first let us see who Dunton was and how he came to write about New England.

John Dunton[1] was born on May 4–14, 1659. His father, previously Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, and then rector of Graffham in Huntingdonshire, was the third John Dunton in succession to be a minister. Our John Dunton, unable to keep up this tradition, was apprenticed, when between fourteen and fifteen years old, to Thomas Parkhurst, the London bookseller, who was later to bring out Cotton Mather's Magnalia. Dunton's apprenticeship seems not to have been wholly industrious. When it ceased, apparently in 1681, he commenced bookseller on his own account. His first publication was entered in Michaelmas Term of 1681.[2] Many others followed, one of them a collection of funeral sermons, The House of Weeping, 1682, by his father. On August 3, 1682, he married Elizabeth, daughter of Samuel Annesley, D.D. For a while "prosperity and success were the common course of Providence,"[3] but presently "there came a universal damp upon Trade,"[3] and Dunton, having £500 due him in New England, decided to "ramble" thither.

In November,[4] 1685, accordingly, in the ship Susannah and Thomas, Captain Thomas Jenner, he set sail from the Downs for Boston. After a very long and unpleasant voyage, in the course of which he either saw or just missed seeing an amazing variety of fishes and marine animals — including an alligator[5] — Dunton reached Boston. The

[1] The sketches of his life in the Dictionary of National Biography, in John Nichols's Literary Anecdotes of the Eighteenth Century, v. 59–83, in John Bowyer Nichols's introduction to the 1818 edition of the Life and Errors, in Whitmore's introduction to the Letters from New England, and elsewhere, all rest upon Dunton's own account in the Life and Errors, first published in 1705.

[2] Arber, Term Catalogues, i. 458.

[3] Life and Errors, vol. i. p. 79.

[4] In the Life and Errors (i. 87) Dunton gives the date November 2; in the Letters from New England (p. 16) he has it November 20. But Sewall (Diary for January 28, 1686) records that "Jenner came from Ile Wight the 13, of November" (5 Massachusetts Historical Collections, v. 119). Dunton says (Letters, p. 22), "It was on Friday, the 29th October, we began to sail from the Isle of Wight." It happens that in 1685 the 29th of October fell on Thursday.

[5] "Being laid down upon the Bed one Day to repose my self, Palmer [Dunton's apprentice and servant] comes down to me, and tells me, I had lost the sight of a very great and strange Creature, which our Captain call'd an Alligator; this Creature is of a vast length and breadth, (some say many yards in length:) in colour he is of a dark brown, which makes him the more imperceptable when he

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date of his arrival has been variously stated. Whitmore[1] puts it "within a day or two of February 10," 1686. Palfrey,[2] probably following John Nichols,[3] puts it in March. John Bowyer Nichols[4] prefers February. We have, to be sure, Dunton's own word that he was at sea "above four months."[5] But as for that, we have also Dunton's word[6] that he spent ten months in New England, although he declares that he sailed for home on July 5, 1686,[7] — an assertion wholly irreconcilable with the statement that he set sail on either November 2 or November 20, and spent four months at sea.

The true date appears as soon as we examine Sewall's Diary. For we know from Dunton[8] that he sailed with Captain Thomas Jenner, and we have, furthermore, a rather explicit account[9] of his arrival at Boston. "We . . . Landed near the Castle, within a mile of Boston, where we lay that Night; . . . Having refresh'd our selves the first Night at the Castle, where . . . we were very civilly treated by the Governour,[10] the next morning we bent our Course for Boston; . . . over the Ice." Sewall's account, although it makes no mention of John Dunton, agrees in all these circumstances and also supplies the date:[11]

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lies as a Trapan in the Waters. He is of so vast a strength that no Creature is able to make his Escape from him, if he gets but his Chaps fastened in them; for he has three Tere of Teeth in his Chaps and so firmly sealed and armed with Coat of Male, that you may as well shoot at a Rock, or strike against Bars of Iron, as offer to wound him" (Letters, p. 35).

[1] Introduction to Letters, pp. xi, xxii.

[2] History of New England, iii. 487 note 2.

[3] Literary Anecdotes of the Eighteenth Century, v. 63.

[4] Life and Errors, vol. i. p. xi.

[5] Life and Errors, i. 89. In the Letters (p. 49) he says "almost four months." Compare note 7, below. This is disproved by the fact (see p. 216 and note 2) that on February 16, 1686, Dunton was vouched for as a stranger by Francis Burroughs.

[6] Letters, p. 69.

[7] "I came from Boston on the Fifth of July and was in London on the fifth of August; which was three months shorter than my passage thither" (Letters, p. 302).

[8] Letters, p. 26; Life and Errors, i. 86, 88.

[9] Letters, pp. 53–54; Life and Errors, i. 89–90.

[10] Capt. Roger Clap, Governor of the Castle.

[11] On account of the critical state of affairs in England and their bearing on the matter of the charter, the arrival of a ship was just then an event of even more consequence than usual. It is not unlikely that Captain Jenner was particularly expected, for we know that just one year before, on January 28, 1685, "at the

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Wednesday, Jan^{r} 27. [1686] . . . Is talk of a Ship below and some think it may be Jenner from London.

Thorsday, January 28, Mr. Jenner having lodged at Capt. Clap's last night, with Mr. Belcher and others, come near twenty together to Serj^{t} Bull's over the Ice and bring the News of the Rose Frigot ready to come and bring Mr. Randolph, who is to be Deputy Governour, and Mr. Dudley Governour. . . . The Town much filled with this discourse. . . . When Mr. Jenner came in the Magistrates went all off the Bench to hear his News in the Lobby.[1]

It is entirely clear, therefore, that John Dunton arrived in Boston Harbor on the evening of January 27, 1686, and reached the city on the following day. Dunton's own chronology is so shaky that it is a satisfaction to be able to fix this date by evidence from a trustworthy source.

On February 16, 1686, Dunton was vouched for as a stranger,[2] and about the same time he opened his bookshop at Mr. Richard Wil-

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opening of this Court the Gouerno^{r} declard it, y^{t} on the certeine or generall rumo^{r}s in Mr Jenner, lately arrived, y^{t} o^{r} charter was condemned, & judgment entred vp, &c, they lookt at it as an incumbent duty to acquaint the Court wth it, & leaue the consideration of what was or might be necessary to them, &c" (Massachusetts Colony Records, v. 465).

Our associate Mr. Henry H. Edes has kindly called my attention to the fact that there is much information about the Jenners in Wyman's Genealogies and Estates of Charlestown, i. 551–553.

[1] 5 Massachusetts Historical Collections, v. 119.

[2] Letters, p. 65 note. The record, which is herewith reproduced, is as follows:

Witnesse these presents that I ffrancis Burrowes of Bostone Merchant doe binde my selfe, my Execut^{rs} and Administrat^{rs} to Edward Willis Treasurer of the Towne of Bostone in the sume of ffortie pounds in mony that John Dunton booke seller or any of his ffamilie — shall not be chargable to this towne duringe his or any there abode therein. Witnesse my hand the 16th of ffebruary 1685.

That is sd Burrowes bindes him selfe as aboue to sd Willis & his success^{rs} in the Office of a Treasurer, omited in ye due place aboue

FRAN: BURROUGHS

JOHN DUNTON

The date in this entry is, of course, 1685–6. The entry is found in a small quarto book in the office of the City Clerk of Boston, who has kindly allowed it to be examined and photographed. The book is that described on p. 12 of City Document No. 171 (1899) as containing Bonds for Security against Strangers, 1679–1700.

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... Is talk of a Ship ... ar ...
... from London.

28. Mr. ... having lodged at Capt. ...'s last
... others, come near twenty ... to say,
... the News of the Rose Frigot ready to ...
... who is to be Deputy Governour, and Mr.
... The Town much filled with this discourse ...
... the Magistrates went all off the Bench to hear

... therefore, that John Dunton arrived in Boston
... evening of January 27, 1686, and reached the city on
... Dunton's own chronology is so shaky that ...
... to be able to fix this date by evidence from a trustworthy
...

On February 16, 1686, Dunton was vouched for as a ...
at ... the ... time he opened his bookshop at Mr. Richard Wil-
...

... of this Court the Governour declard it y^e on the ... or gener...
... arrived, y^e of charter was ...
... it ... in ... duty to acquaint the Court
... of what was or ... be necessary ...
... Records, v. 165).

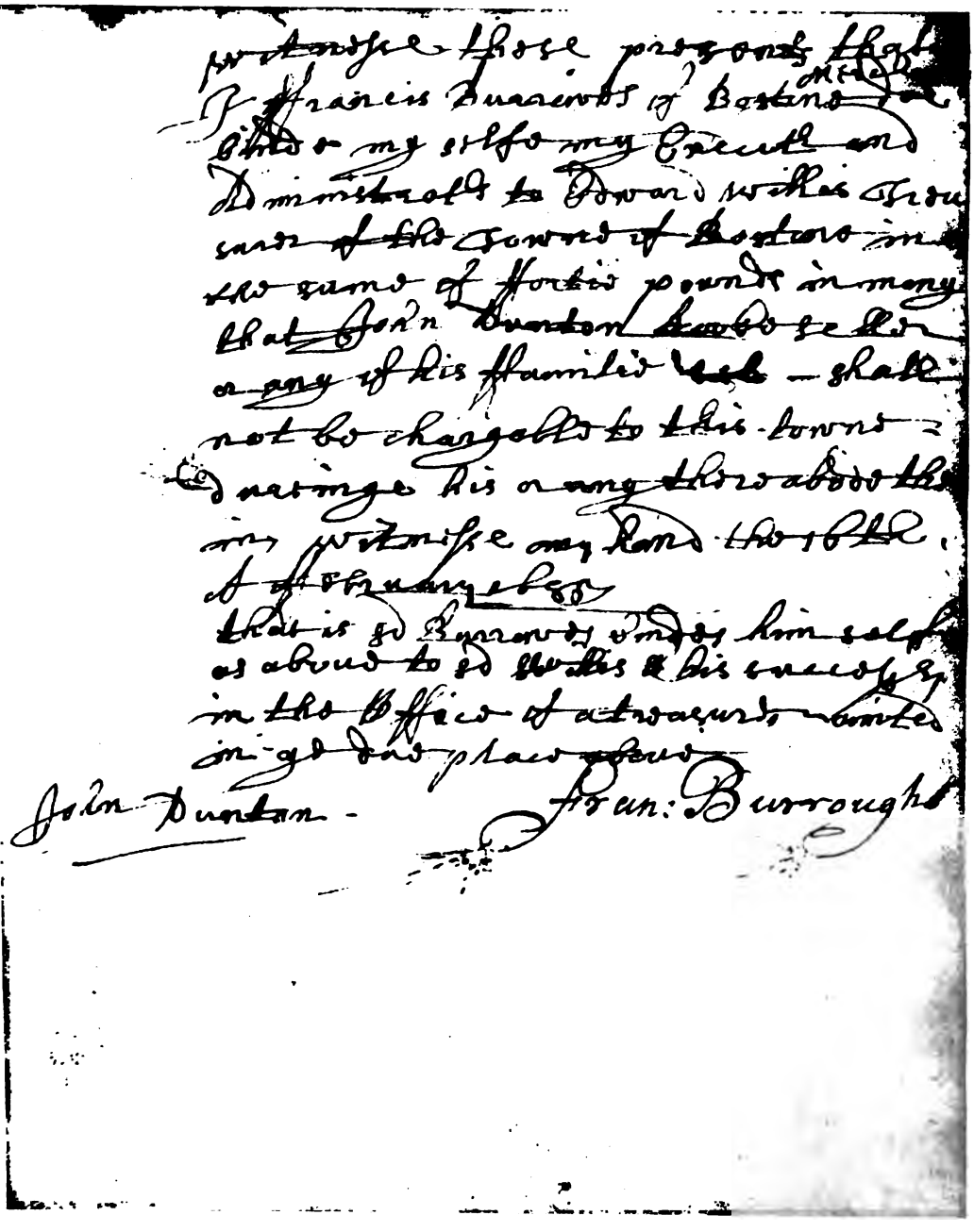
... Henry H. Edes has kindly called my attention to this
... information about the ... in Wyman's ...
... i. 551-552.
... Historical Collections, v. 119.
... note. The record, which is ...

Witnesse these presents that I ffrancis Burrowes of Boston Merchant
binde my selfe, my Execut^rs and Administrat^rs ... W... Treasurer
the Towne of Bostone in the same of ... that ... D...
booke seller or any of his ... shall not be ... to the towne ...
his or any there abode therein. Witnesse ...
That is sd Burrowes bindes him selfe ...
In the Office of s Treasurer, omitted in ...

FRAN. BURRO...

JOHN DUNTON

The date in this entry is, of course, 1685-6. The entry is found ...
quarto book in the office of the City Clerk of ... who has kindly ...
be examined and photographed. The book is that described ...
Document No. 171 (1880) as containing Bonds for Security against ...
...-1700.



Bond of Francis Burroughs that John Dunton, a Stranger shall not become a Charge upon the Town of Boston. 1685

Engraved for The Colonial Society of Massachusetts

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kins's, "opposite to the Town-House," where he also lodged. He next presented various letters of introduction and began to look about him. Business did not, apparently, prevent him from making many "rambles" to neighboring towns or from cultivating the acquaintance of all who showed themselves friendly. He saw the execution of Morgan on March 11, and the arrival of Randolph on May 14. On July 5 he sailed for London, where he arrived one month later.[1]

Dunton's subsequent career may be very briefly reviewed. He found his affairs involved in debt, was obliged to remain in hiding for ten months,[2] and then "took a trip over to Holland, Flanders, Germany, &c."[3] He returned to London on November 15, 1688,[4] and resumed business at "the sign of the Black Raven . . . opposite to the Poultry Compter."[4] There for ten years he published, compiled, and projected to his heart's content. He was temporarily saddened by the death of his wife in 1697, but remarried within a year, went to Ireland on a bookselling venture, returned, published his famous Life and Errors in 1705, wrote profusely and violently until 1723, and died in obscurity ten years later.

This career certainly leaves the impression of an increasingly irresponsible person. As such John Dunton seems to have been regarded by many of his contemporaries. Swift, in the Tale of a Tub (1704), alludes to Dunton's voluminous and indiscriminate publishing projects,[5] and in his Publick Spirit of the Whigs (1714) ironically praises Dunton's "famous tract entitled Neck or Nothing," which "must be allowed to be the shrewdest piece, and written with the most spirit, of any which has appeared from that side since the change of the ministry."[6] The Earl of Sunderland thought him "an impudent Fellow," who had "abused the greatest men in the Nation."[7] The writer of the footnote on Dunton in the Dunciad (ii. 144) agrees

[1] Letters, p. 301; Life and Errors, i. 137.

[2] Life and Errors, i. 138.

[3] Life and Errors, i. 139.

[4] Life and Errors, i. 151.

[5] "I am informed, that worthy citizen and bookseller, Mr. John Dunton, has made a faithful and painstaking collection [of speeches], which he shortly designs to publish in twelve volumes in folio, illustrated with copper plates. A work highly useful and curious, and altogether worthy of such a hand" (Swift's Works, ed. Nichols, London, 1803, iii. 65).

[6] vi. 182.

[7] Life and Errors, ii. 760 note.

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with Sunderland: "a broken[1] bookseller," the annotator calls him, "and an abusive scribbler. He wrote Neck or Nothing, a violent satire on some Ministers of State; a libel on the Duke of Devonshire and the Bishop of Peterborough, &c."[2] The London Post said of Dunton, "In spite of *native Dulness* [he] resolves to be a Wit, as he always did to be a Knave, in spite of . . . a whole volume of repentance."[3] Charges of financial untrustworthiness are also abundant,[4] though vague, and a certain R. Key seems to indicate that Dunton was known to be licentious in personal conduct.[5] Certainly there is no lack of nastiness in some of Dunton's writings,[6] however admirable the moral tone of most of them. I fancy Dunton to have had an utterly irresponsible and fluctuating nature, in which by turns immorality, repentance, credulity, and vindictiveness directed his unceasing frenzy for publication. "Mr. John Dunton, lunatick," is the succinct characterization of him in the second number of the Monitor (1714),[7] and as early as 1707 Thomas Hearne records, "There is publish'd The II[d] Part of the Pulpit Fool, by John Dunton a poor craz'd silly Fellow."[8] Certainly Dunton becomes less puzzling if we regard him, at least in his later years, as partially insane. Yet his publications contain so much that is not his own, and the evidence of others about him is so full of prejudice and obscurity, that it is a very difficult matter to decide.

The Letters from New England are eight in number, one of them apparently written from West Cowes, six from Boston, and one after the return to London.

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[1] John Nichols (Literary Anecdotes of the Eighteenth Century, v. 78 note) has "auction bookseller," which J. B. Nichols (Life and Errors, vol. i. p. vi) repeats. But the reading in the annotated Dunciad (second edition) of 1729 (p. 107 note) is "broken bookseller." So it is in Elwin and Courthope's edition (iv. 140 note).

[2] Pope's Works, ed. Elwin and Courthope, iv. 140 note.

[3] Life and Errors, ii. 465.

[4] Life and Errors, Chapter xii, *passim*.

[5] Life and Errors, ii. 759. The two letters from Key which Nichols reprints (Life and Errors, ii. 758–9) are distinctly those of a boon companion, not of a malicious critic.

[6] The fourth "Project" in the second part of Athenianism (1710), for example.

[7] Nichols, Literary Anecdotes of the Eighteenth Century, iv. 88 note.

[8] Remarks and Collections of Thomas Hearne, ed. C. E. Doble, Oxford (Oxford Historical Society), 1886, ii. 26.

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The first, "From West-Cowes, in the Isle of Wight, Octob. 25th, 1685," is addressed to his wife and narrates the embarkation and the beginning of the voyage. It is signed "Yrs Entirely / John Dunton."

The second letter, written from Boston, dated February 17, 1685–6, and addressed "To My Only Brother Mr. Lake Dunton. Lately Return'd from Surat in the East-Indies," completes the account of the voyage. It is signed "Your truly Loving and / Affectionate Brother, / Philaret." [1]

The third letter, dated from Boston, March 25, 1686, is addressed to Mr. George Larkin, at London, and is signed "Philaret." This letter, which is one of the most important of the series, must have required a considerable sum in postage, for in Whitmore's edition it fills about ninety pages. In it, declares Dunton:

> I shall observe this method:
> 1. Give you an Account of my Reception at Boston:
> 2. The Character of my Boston Landlord, his Wife and Daughter;
> 3. Give you an Account of my being admitted into the Freedom of this City:
> 4. I shall next describe the Town of Boston, it being the Metropolis of New-England; and say something of the Government, Law, and Customs thereof.
> 5. I shall relate the Visits I made, the Remarkable Friendships I contracted, and shall conclude with the character of Madam Brick as the Flower of Boston, and some other Ladyes, And I'll omit nothing that happened (if remarkable) during my stay here. And in all this I will not copy from others, as is usual with most Travellers, but relate my own Observations.[2]

In the fourth letter, without date or place, but addressed to Dunton's cousin, John Woolhurst, at London, and signed "Philaret," we have an account of Dunton's "rambles" [3] to Charlestown,

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[1] "Philaret (or Lover of Vertue) was the Name that Cloris gave me in all the Letters she sent to me during the Time of our Correspondence" (Dunton's Athenianism, 1710, p. 5 note). Cloris was Elizabeth Singer, afterwards Mrs. Rowe, "die göttliche Rowe," with whom Dunton enjoyed a Platonic correspondence, if the evidence of his "Character of Madam Singer" (the first of the "Projects" in his Athenianism) can be relied upon.

[2] Letters, pp. 56–57.

[3] His own word.

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Medford, New-Town, Winnisimet,[1] Lynn, Nantascot, Wissaguset,[2] Braintree, Dorchester, and Roxbury. In the course of this letter we find short descriptions of these towns, a good deal about Indians, and an account of the apostle Eliot.

The fifth letter, undated, is to Dunton's father-in-law, Dr. Samuel Annesley, from his "Most Dutiful Son-in-Law, Philaret." It contains an account of the conversion of the Indians, for which Dunton modestly disclaims originality.[3]

The sixth letter is without date, but it contains letters between Dunton and his apprentice Palmer, which in the Life and Errors [4] are dated April 4, 1686, and April 10, 1686. It is addressed to his wife and is signed "Your ever Faithful / Philaret." It describes his ramble to Salem, whither he went alone, "save that by an Intercourse of Souls, my Dear, I had your Company." [5]

The seventh letter, the last of those supposed to have been written from Boston, is addressed "To My Beloved Sister, Mrs. Sarah Dunton." It contains information about various matters relating to Indians, descriptions of Wenham and Ipswich, and two portraits of people. It has no date.[6]

The final letter, "To Mr. Richard Wilkins in Boston in New England," briefly assures his former landlord of Dunton's safe arrival in London and his happy reunion with his wife.

The earliest version of Dunton's account of New England is in the Life and Errors (1705).[7] That account was very inadequately re-

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[1] Now Chelsea.

[2] Now Weymouth.

[3] Letters, p. 221.

[4] Pp. 129, 130.

[5] Letters, p. 249.

[6] In it, however, Dunton writes, "In a few weeks I hope to take my Leave of this New World" (Letters, p. 298).

[7] The / Life and Errors / Of / John Dunton / Late Citizen of London; / Written by Himself in Solitude. / With an Idea of a New Life; / Wherein is Shewn / How he 'd Think, Speak, and Act, might he / Live over his Days again: / Intermix'd with the / New Discoveries / The Author has made / In his Travels Abroad, / And in his / Private Conversation at Home. / Together with the Lives and Characters of a Thou- / sand Persons now Living in London, &c. / Digested into Seven Stages, with their Respective Ideas. / He that has all his own Mistakes confest, / Stands next to him that never has transgrest, / And will be censur'd for a Fool by none, / But they who see no

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printed in 1814 in the Massachusetts Historical Collections.[1] In 1818 John Bowyer Nichols did much better: he not only reprinted the Life and Errors much more accurately and fully,[2] but also added selections from Dunton's other works, prefixed a good memoir, and appended a calendar of the Dunton MS in the Bodleian Library.[3]

From these manuscripts a copy of the eight "Letters from New England" was made[4] under the supervision of Colonel Joseph L.

Errors of their own. / Foe's Satyr upon himself, P. 6. / London: Printed for S. Malthus, 1705.

The copy formerly owned by Charles Eliot Norton is now in the Harvard University Library.

On the verso of p. 251 is advertised —

Preparing for the PRESS,
A Ramble through Six Kingdoms,
BY
JOHN DUNTON
LATE
Citizen of LONDON

Wherein he relates, 1. His *Juvenile* Travels. 2. The History of his *Sea Voyages.* 3. His *Conversation* in Foreign Parts.

With *Characters of Men and Women,* and almost ev'ry thing he Saw or Convers'd with.

The like Discoveries (in such a Method) never made by any Traveller before.

Illustrated with *Fourty Cuts,* representing the most pleasant Passages in the whole Adventure.

With *Recommendatory Poems,* written by the chief Wits in both Universities.

This Work will be finish'd by next *Michaelmas* and will be 2s. 6d. bound.

[1] Second Series, ii. 97–124. About one-third of the account is omitted without notice, the text is "improved" somewhat in the manner of Sparks, and the paragraphing is greatly changed.

[2] Even the edition of 1818, however, has omissions, generally not indicated: p. 98, character of Mr. C. (cf. ed. 1705, p. 131); p. 114, a paragraph omitted (cf. ed. 1705, pp. 156–157, and Letters, pp. 141–142); p. 122, one clause omitted (cf. ed. 1705, pp. 168–169); p. 133, a dialogue of about two and one-half pages on Platonic love omitted (cf. ed. 1705, pp. 125–128). These omitted passages, if restored, would make the book coarser and more discursive; in other words, more like the Chester MS of the Letters.

[3] MS Rawl., Miscel. 71 and 72. See Life and Errors, ii. 753–760. These manuscripts contain Dunton's version of the Letters from New England, and more than eighty other pieces, most of which seem to be either actual letters to or from Dunton, or parts of fictitious correspondence. Often they are love letters, with answers in shorthand. There would seem to be material here for a more thorough study of Dunton's life and works than has yet been made.

[4] This transcript, which I shall refer to as the Chester MS, is now in the possession of the New England Historic Genealogical Society, the Librarian of

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Chester for the use of William Henry Whitmore, who first printed the Letters from New England in 1867 for the Prince Society. We are under great obligations to Whitmore for having made these letters accessible. One wishes very much, however, that he had reprinted the whole of the Chester MS: to have done so would have revealed Dunton's vulgarity and his excursiveness, which, however unattractive, are important if we wish to know him. Even more does one wish that Whitmore had indicated every erasure and interpolation in the Chester MS, for these bear vitally upon the question of the date and genuineness of the Letters, questions which Whitmore hardly raised at all.

One question which Whitmore did raise, however, and which he did much to settle, is the question of Dunton's importance as an original authority. Whitmore was able to show that nearly everything that Dunton tells us about the Indians is copied almost verbatim from either Roger Williams or Cotton Mather, though Dunton often takes pains to work over the information into monologues from imaginary persons whom he met on his rambles. Whitmore further shows borrowings from Josselyn's Two Voyages (1674) and from J. W.'s Letter from New England (1682). In all, Whitmore points out about thirty cases in which, without acknowledgment, Dunton appropriates rather long passages from earlier writers. This was much more than a curious discovery, for it very importantly modified the idea of the value and purpose of the book which we might otherwise have had.

When so much has been pointed out that is not original, one is naturally moved to see if there may not be still more. It appears that there is much more.

Here, for example, is an episode of Dunton's voyage and beside it a passage from Josselyn's Two Voyages:

JOSSELYN	DUNTON
About 8 of the clock at night, a flame settled upon the main mast, it was about the bigness of a great Candle, and	On the next Day, in the Captain's Cabin, we had hot debates about a Flame, which sometimes settles upon

which has kindly allowed me to consult it. The different letters are paged separately; in referring to the MS, accordingly, the letter as well as the page is specified.

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is called by our Seamen St. *Elmes* fire, it comes before a storm, and is commonly thought to be a Spirit; if two appear they prognosticate safety: These are known to the learned by the names of *Castor* and *Pollux*, to the *Italians* by St. *Nicholas* and St. *Hermes*, by the *Spaniards* called *Corpos Santos* (ed. Veazie, p. 8).

the main mast of a Ship . . . It is about the bigness of a good large Candle, and was call'd by the Seamen St. Ellines Fire; it usually comes before a storm, and is commonly thought to be a Spirit; and here's the conjuration of it, that tho' one is look'd upon as an ill Omen, yet if two appear, they are said to Prognosticate Safety. These are known to the Learned by the names of Castor and Pollux: to the Italians, by St. Nicholas and St. Hermes, and are by the Spaniards called Corpus Santos (Letters, p. 31).

One cannot help wondering, after this, if the various sailors who told Dunton so much about the different fish they had met,[1] had not managed to commit to memory large portions of some not very reliable work on natural history, the identity of which has thus far eluded our search.

In the fifth letter there is a rather distinct bit of description of the country through which Dunton rode on his trip to Natick. The letter is addressed to Dr. Annesley:

As we rid along that lovely valley I have mention'd, Sir, we saw many lovely Lakes or Ponds, well stored with Fish and Beavers: These, they tell me, are the original of all the great Rivers in the Countrey, of which there are many, besides lesser Streams, manifesting the Goodness of the Soil, which is in some places black, in others red, with clay, Gravel, Sand and Loom, and very deep in some places, as in the Valleys and Swamps, which are low grounds, and bottoms, infinitely thick set with Trees and Bushes of all sorts; others having no other Shrubs or Trees growing but Spruce, under the Shades whereof we Rambled two or three miles together, being goodly large Trees, and convenient for Masts and Sail-Yards (Letters, p. 216).

Josselyn had written:

Within these valleys are spacious lakes or ponds well stored with Fish and Beavers; the original of all the great Rivers in the Countrie, of which there are many with lesser streams (wherein are an infinite of fish) manifesting the goodness of the soil which is black, red-clay, gravel, sand, loom, and very deep in some places, as in the valleys and swamps, which

[1] Letters, pp. 24 ff.

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are low grounds and bottoms infinitely thick set with Trees and Bushes of all sorts for the most part, others having no other shrub or Tree growing, but spruse, under the shades whereof you may freely walk two or three mile together; being goodly large Trees, and convenient for masts and sail-yards (Two Voyages, pp. 37–38).

It will be noticed that Dunton relies upon the authority of Josselyn to determine even the length of his ramble. Josselyn writes: "you may walk freely two or three mile together." Dunton echoes: "We rambled two or three miles together." No traveller ever followed his Baedeker more faithfully.

That Josselyn actually was Dunton's Baedeker appears when we examine the short descriptions of the various towns which Dunton visited in his rambles. There are twelve of them in all,[1] and the description of each[2] is taken almost verbatim from Josselyn. The account of Nantascot is a fair example:

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[1] There is no description of Medford in the Letters: perhaps because Josselyn has none. Whitmore noted (pp. 66–69) that Dunton's description of Boston is borrowed from Josselyn.

[2] The question where Josselyn got his descriptions of these towns is interesting. Some of them (Boston, Charlestown, New-Town, Lynn, Dorchester, Roxbury, Wenham, and Ipswich) he could have got, either wholly or in part, from Johnson's Wonder-Working Providence (1654); in all of them except the description of Wenham he may have borrowed from Wood's New Englands Prospect (1634). But of the three books (Wood, Johnson, and Josselyn) we know that Dunton must have used Josselyn. For convenience a list of these descriptions of towns is added, with page references to Wood (as edited by Charles Deane in 1865 for the Prince Society), Johnson (ed. J. F. Jameson, New York, 1910) and Josselyn (Veazie's edition):

Boston	Wood	41–42	Johnson	70–71	Josselyn	124–125
Charlestown	"	43	"	68–69	"	126
New-Town	"	43	"	90	"	127
Winnisimet	"	44	"	—	"	128
Lynn	"	45	"	73	"	128
Nantascot	"	3	"	—	"	122–123
Wissaguset	"	40	"	—	"	123
Braintree	"	40	"	—	"	123
Dorchester	"	41	"	69–70	"	123–124
Roxbury	"	41	"	71–72	"	124
Wenham	"	—	"	226	"	129–130
Ipswich or Agawam	"	48–49	"	96	"	129

It is curious that Josselyn follows Wood's order very closely in describing these towns, and that Dunton follows Josselyn's order with equal closeness.

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JOSSELYN

. . . a Town called *Nantascot*, which is two Leagues from *Boston*, where Ships commonly cast Anchor.

Pullin-point is so called, because the Boats are . . . haled against the Tide which is very strong, it is the usual Channel for Boats to pass into *Mattachusets-Bay*.

There is an Island on the South-side of the passage containing eight Acres of ground. Upon a rising hill within this Island is mounted a Castle commanding the entrance, no stately Edifice, nor strong; built with Brick and Stone, kept by a Captain, under whom is a master-Gunner and others.

. . . The *Bay* is large,

made by many Islands, the chief *Deere*-Island, which is within a flight shot of *Pullin-point*, great store of *Deere* were wont to swim thither from the Main; then *Bird*-Island, *Glass*-Island, *Slate*-Island, the Governours Garden, where the first Apple-Trees in the Countrey were planted, and a vinyard; then *Round*-Island, and *Noddles*-Island not far from *Charles*-Town: most of these Islands lye on the North-side of the *Bay* (pp. 122–3).

DUNTON

Being come to Nantascot we took a survey of the Town, which is a Sea-Port, about two Leagues from Boston, where ships commonly cast Anchor: near which is Pullin Point, so called, because the Boats are haled against the Tide, which is very strong. It is the usual Channel for Boats to pass into the Massachusetts Bay. On the South Side of the Passage there is an Island containing about Eight Acres of ground; Upon a rising Hill within this Island is mounted a Castle. Here 'twas we first Landed, when I came into the Countrey; Tho' this Castle be no stately Edifice, nor very strong, being built with Brick and Stone, yet it commands the Entrance, so that no Ship can pass by without its leave: It is kept by a Captain, under whom is a Master-Gunner, and some others.

I then took a transient view of Pullin-Point. The Bay is large, and has Boston in view, as soon as you enter into it: It is made by many Islands, the chiefest of which is the Dear Island, which is within a flight shot of Pullin-Point: It is called Dear Island, because great store of Deer were wont to swim thither from the main Land: We then viewed Bird Island, Glass-Island, State[1]-Island, and the Governour's Garden, where the first Apple trees in the Countrey were planted, and there also was planted a Vineyard: Then there is Round Island, so called from the figure of it, and last of all Noddles Island, not far from Charles-Town. Most of these Islands lie on the North-Side of the Bay (Letters, pp. 179–180).

All this does not prove that Dunton did not visit these places, for we know that he saw Boston with his own eyes, even though he avails himself of Josselyn's description of it. But it is clear that we can-

[1] So in Whitmore.

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not use Dunton's descriptions to show what these towns were like in 1686.

It is now time to raise the whole question of the date and genuineness [1] of these Letters. In his preface Whitmore observes: [2]

> In regard to the point as to these being the letters written at the time, Mr. Chester says that he does not regard them as letters actually sent from Boston to the parties addressed. They were all written in a uniform hand, on uniform paper, and may be considered rather as a journal, kept probably during his sojourn at Boston, and intended for publication. The other theory would be that this was his letter-book, in which, according to the custom of the times, he kept copies of the letters sent.
>
> Mr. Chester adds: "The interpolations and emendations are numerous, and some of them clearly of a later date. Sometimes entire pages were evidently after-thoughts, and occur at the end of the volume, being referred to by marks in the body of the MSS."

Further than this Whitmore did not go. We do not know, therefore, which pages were added; indeed we know hardly anything about the author's minor changes except what we can learn from the Chester MS in the library of the New England Historic Genealogical Society. A week at the Bodleian might clear up many difficulties. Nevertheless, with the text as we have it something can be done.

On the very first page of the Letters from New England there is a note, which Whitmore prints as a footnote, in which Dunton refers by page to his "lately published Farewell to Dublin." The farewell to Dublin — the actual event — took place late in December of 1698, and the Dublin Scuffle, of which the Farewell seems to have formed a part, was not published until 1699. Again, at the very end [3] of his Letters, and also in his account of the negligence of his apprentice,[4] Dunton has passages in which he gets nearly a year ahead of the date which must be assumed for the eighth letter, if we are to suppose that the entire manuscript represents a body of letters actually sent from New England. It is therefore at least clear that we have

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[1] Genuineness *as letters*, I mean. The identity of the author is not being called in question.

[2] P. iv.

[3] Pp. 305–306.

[4] P. 259.

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in the Chester MS certain passages which could not have been written from Boston in the year 1686. It remains to ask, then, whether such passages are numerous and incorporated in the letters, or whether they constitute merely a few such notes as the two just cited.

In the second letter, dated March 25, 1686, we have a reference to "Major Dudley, afterwards President."[1] Now Joseph Dudley's commission as President did not arrive until May, 1686.[2] Again, we have in the same letter, under date March 25, 1686, the following sentence: "Another Occurence that happened whilst I was here, was, the Arrival of the Rose Frigot from England with a New Charter brought over by one Rundel" [Randolph].[3] But this event did not take place until May 14, 1686.[4] However, it may be urged that Dunton should be forgiven any slight confusion of dates, provided he limits himself in these letters to the narration of events which occurred before his departure, on July 5, 1686.

But Dunton does not by any means keep within even these rather generous limits. His account of John Eliot[5] is largely taken verbatim from Cotton Mather's Life of Eliot, which was not published until 1691.[6] He refers[7] to the publication of the life of Nathaniel Mather, which did not appear until 1689.[8] He quotes from Increase

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[1] Letters, p. 65.

[2] Everett Kimball, The Public Life of Joseph Dudley (Harvard Historical Studies), New York, 1911, pp. 24–25.

[3] Letters, p. 137.

[4] Sewall's Diary for May 14, 1686 (i. 137–139). What Randolph brought was the exemplification of the judgment against the charter and the commission for the new government. Sewall (Diary for May 17, 1686) describes the meeting at which Dudley showed these papers and announced to the General Court that he "could treat them no longer as Governour and Company."

[5] Letters, pp. 194 ff.

[6] Sibley, No. 32. Cotton Mather's Life of John Eliot was first published at Boston in 1691. In the same year Dunton brought out a second edition in London. According to advertisements in the Athenian Mercury this second edition seems to have appeared on or about August 3, 1691 (Athenian Mercury, vol. iii. nos. 2 and 3). There was a third edition (London: John Dunton) in 1694, and the work was also reprinted in the Magnalia. Which of these Dunton used I do not know.

[7] "Having taken my leave of Mr. Cotton and Nathaniel Mather (whose Life I afterwards Printed) and after that, of their Reverend Father, I return'd home hugely pleas'd with my first Visit" (p. 75).

[8] Sibley, No. 7. This work, "Printed by J. Astwood for J. Dunton, 1689," was entered in Trinity Term, 1689 (Arber, Term Catalogues, ii. 268). Nathaniel Mather died October 17, 1688.

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Mather's letter to Dr. John Leusden, which is dated July 12, 1687.[1] More curious still is a remark[2] made in connection with Cotton Mather. "Cotton Mather . . . has very lately finish'd a Church-History of New-England, which I'm going to print." Now, as every reader of Cotton Mather's Diary knows, the Magnalia was not finished until 1697.[3] Another allusion,[4] which is somewhat less obvious, carries the date still further forward. After portraying the admirable character of Comfort Wilkins, Mrs. Green, and Madam Brick, Dunton remarks, "And now Sir Daniel, I suppose you'll give some grains of Allowance to Sir John: For I believe such Females as these, wou'd set even a Gentleman of more Reformation, a longing for further Acquaintance with 'em, without making it a Crime."[5] This allusion can be to no one but Daniel Defoe, who in reply to the attacks made upon his Reformation of Manners (1702), published "More Reformation. / A / Satyr / Upon / Himself. / By the Author Of / The True Born English-Man." But Defoe's More Reformation was not entered for publication until Michaelmas Term of 1703,[6] and bears the date 1703 upon its title-page. All of these passages, except one, throw the date forward indefinitely from 1686. The only passage which suggests two limits is the very interesting one in connection with the Magnalia, for it is extremely unlikely that after 1702, in which year the Magnalia was published by Thomas Parkhurst, Dunton would have written, even in the rough draft of these Letters, that the Magnalia was a work "which I'm going to print." Except for this clause, I see nothing in the Letters to show that they

[1] Magnalia, 1702, bk. iii. pp. 194–195.

[2] Letters, p. 75.

[3] Diary for August 20, 1697 (7 Massachusetts Historical Collections, vii. 227). It seems almost impossible that "a Church-History of New England" can refer to any of Cotton Mather's works except the Magnalia, which is regularly referred to by that title in the Diary and which is outlined under that title ("A Schæme of his Church-History of New England") in Cotton Mather's Johannes in Eremo, 1695 (Sibley, No. 52).

[4] Letters, p. 112.

[5] P. 112. In the first edition of the Life and Errors (p. 147) "Sir Daniel" and "More Reformation" are printed in capitals; in the Chester MS (Letter iii, pp. 52–53), they are not.

[6] Arber, Term Catalogues, iii. 371. The Harvard University Library has a copy which, though quite clearly of the first edition, has the date trimmed off. Note that the motto on the title-page of the Life and Errors is from Defoe's More Reformation, which is there referred to by its sub-title (see p. 220 note 7).

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were not written after the Life and Errors (1705).[1] But without use of the MS at the Bodleian, it is impossible to do more, though it is certainly impossible to do less, than to cast general doubt upon the date of the entire work.

We can immediately answer in the negative the question, Is this work in its present form a body of actual letters? It is clear that the letters as we have them have been worked over to make a book, if, indeed, they ever were actual letters. The mere fact that Dunton frequently appeals to "the reader"[2] suffices to show this, if, indeed, any further evidence were needed than the inordinate length and the general tone of the work.[3]

But although it is clear that the author intended to make a book, it is equally clear that he had not finished preparing the copy for the press. In the Chester MS, for instance, we have at one point[4] the note: "Here insert the Poem upon Punch, out of Ratcliff's Rambles."[5]

[1] Possibly an exception should be made to this generalization. In his account (p. 194) of John Eliot, Dunton, who is following Cotton Mather's account very closely, writes: "And this Wife of his Youth [Eliot's] became also the Staff of his Age, and left him not *until about half a year ago*." The italics are mine. Cotton Mather had written (Life of Eliot, London [John Dunton], 1694, p. 7; Magnalia, ed. 1702, bk. iii. p. 173), "she left him not until about three or four Years before his own Departure unto those Heavenly Regions where they now together see light." This is very puzzling. John Eliot's wife died March 22, 1687 (Savage, Genealogical Dictionary, ii. 110). "About half a year" after that takes us to September, 1687, as the approximate date when that particular sentence was written. But Dunton is quoting an account which, presumably, was not accessible to him before 1691. Why, when he was changing Mather's words, he did not put the date back so that it would agree with the supposed date of his letter, is very hard to see.

[2] "And thus, Reader, I have given you the humours of a far different sort of Ladies from the former" (p. 116). So on pp. 102 and 105. The word "Reader" is used in the corresponding passages (pp. 103, 106, 108) of the Life and Errors. I conjecture that Dunton neglected to remove the word when he elaborated these passages from the Life and Errors.

[3] The point is made clearer by an examination of the Chester MS. The parts which Whitmore omits are, in almost every case, destructive of the idea that Dunton's chapters are actual letters.

[4] Chester MS, Letter i, p. 12. The poem, if inserted in the Letters, would be on p. 13, after the sentence which now concludes the paragraph.

[5] This was Alexander Radcliffe's "Bacchanalia Cœlestia: a Poem, in Praise of Punch, compos'd by the Gods and Goddesses," 1680. It was reprinted in "The Ramble: an anti-heroick Poem. Together with some Terrestrial Hymns and Carnal Ejaculations," 1682. There is a short sketch of Alexander Radcliffe in the Dictionary of National Biography. It is to be noted that the sub-title of Radcliffe's poem explains the sentence referred to in the previous note.

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That at least a portion of the composition of these Letters was after Dunton had forgotten (if he ever knew them by experience) some of the details of his visit is suggested by these and other scattered bits of evidence. For instance, it is remarkable to find that, although Dunton assures us of the intimacy of his acquaintance with such men as Higginson, Gerrish, and Hubbard, he gets their names wrong, as well as the names of other people [1] who are incidentally mentioned. Dunton's almost complete omission of matters of public concern is another fact in point. For example, he says nothing whatever about the epidemic of small-pox, although so great was the affliction that March 25, 1686, the very date of the letter wherein so many of his characters occur, was "appointed . . . to be kept as a Day of Solemn Humiliation and Prayer throughout this Colony." The General Court had even voted to "recommend it to the Elders and Ministers of the respective Churches, to promote this work on the said day; forbidding Servile Labour to all People within this Jurisdiction, thereon." [2] All this could hardly have occurred if the Letters in their present form were based upon real letters, or upon a journal dating from the period of his actual visit.

In fact, it must be granted that Dunton is a highly unreliable person, whose narrative cannot be accepted as a record of historical fact. As an instance of this let me cite the account of the execution of Morgan.[3] Dunton assures us that after the sermon he and Cotton Mather rode to the place of execution, that a great crowd followed, and that from where he was he caught occasional glimpses of Morgan.[4] But if Dunton had been where he says he was on this occasion, he could have seen Morgan without difficulty, for we know that Cotton Mather *walked beside the criminal to the place of the execu-*

[1] Including one as important as Randolph, whom Dunton calls Randal (Life and Errors, ed. 1705, p. 152). He also has Higgins for Higginson and Geery for Gerrish (Letters, pp. 254–255, 272), although he says that he was entertained by both. Yet of course the spelling of proper names in the seventeenth century, even by their owners, was vagarious.

[2] Sewall's Diary for March 17, 1686 (i. 128).

[3] Letters, pp. 118 ff. James Morgan, for the crime of murder, was executed on March 11, 1686.

[4] "But before I leave off this subject, I must bring Morgan to his Execution, whither I rid with Mr. Cotton Mather, after the Sermon was ended. Some thousands of the People following to see the Execution. As I rid along I had several glimpses of poor Morgan, as he went "(Letters, p. 135).

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tion.[1] The close of this day of Morgan's execution was made happy for Dunton by a picnic. He tells us that he and half a dozen others got a boat and rowed to Governor's Island, had a kind of barbecue, treated the ladies, and returned in the evening.[2] Now a person who has just witnessed an execution is certainly entitled to go upon a picnic if he so desires. And yet nothing would seem to be more discouraging than certain conditions on the day of this picnic, the date of which was March 11. The winter had been very severe, and although the harbor was no longer frozen over, it had but recently begun to open.[3] Moreover, Morgan was not "turned off" until half-past five;[4] so Dunton could hardly have started on his picnic before dark; and, to make the affair seem even more dismal, we find from Sewall's Diary that it rained nearly all the evening.[4] All that can be said, and all that needs to be said, is that Dunton's accounts of the execution and of the picnic make a remarkable contrast, and that is probably what he was chiefly aiming at.

It remains to consider the most interesting part of the Letters, — the portraits of people.

It is more than a coincidence that in speaking of these portraits Dunton almost always employs the same word. He uses it on his title-page, he uses it in outlining the third letter (for our immediate purpose the most important of them all), and he often uses it in introducing or concluding his accounts of particular people. That

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[1] "Mr. Cotton Mather accompanied James Morgan to the place of Execution and prayed with him there" (Sewall's Diary, March 11, 1686, i. 126).

"There has been since, a second Edition of the Book [the sermons on Morgan's crime and punishment preached by Increase Mather, Joshua Moody, and Cotton Mather. First edition, Boston, 1686; second edition, Boston, 1687], with a Copy of my Discourse with the poor Malefactor walking to his Execution added at the End" (Cotton Mather's Diary for February 12, 1686, 7 Massachusetts Historical Collections, vii. 123). Mather's note is written in the margin. For an account of this book see Sibley, No. 5, and also p. 250 note 2, below.

[2] "But from the House of Mourning, I rambled to the House of Feasting; for Mr. York, Mr. King, with Madam Brick, Mrs. Green, Mrs. Toy, the Damsell [Comfort Wilkins] and my self, took a Ramble to a place call'd Governour's Island, about a mile from Boston, to see a whole Hog roasted, as did several other Bostonians. We went all in a Boat; and having treated the Fair Sex, returned in the Evening" (Letters, p. 137).

[3] Sewall's Diary, February, 1, 3, 7, 12, 13; March 12 (i. 120, 121, 126–127).

[4] Sewall's Diary, March 11, 1686 (i. 126).

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word is "character," as employed in the following sentence: "And thus, Reader, I have given you the Character of another of my Female Friends in Boston."[1]

The "character" in this sense of the word, was a well recognized, prolific, popular, and influential form in English literature of the seventeenth century.[2] We are fortunate in having several contemporary definitions of it, the most explicit and interesting of which is that in a school-book, published in 1665 by Ra[lph] Johnson, who gives not only a definition of the character but also three rules for making one. The full title of the book, of which the Harvard University Library contains a copy, is as follows:

The / Scholars Guide / From the Accidence to the / University. / Or, / Short, Plain, and Easie Rules for per- / forming all manner of Exercise in the Grammar School, *viz.* / Rules for Spelling, Orthography, Pointing, Construing, / Parsing, making Latine, placing Latine, Variation, Amplifica- / tion, Allusion, Imitation, Observation, Moving-passion. / As Also / Rules for making Colloquys, Essays, Fables, Prosopo- / pœia's, Characters, Themes, Epistles, Orations, Declama- / tions of all sorts. / Together With / Rules for Translation, Variation, Imitation, / Carmen, / Epi- / grams, Dialogues, Eccho's, Epitaphs, Hymnes /

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[1] Letters, p. 105. On his title-page (p. [5]), Dunton announces "Particular Characters of Men and Women;" in outlining his third letter he proposes to write "The Character of my Boston Landlord, his Wife and Daughter" and to "conclude with the character of Madam Brick as the Flower of Boston, and some other Ladyes" (p. 57). And cf. pp. 61, 63, 88, 93, 98, 102, 110, 112, 281.

[2] The character becomes more intelligible as a manifestation of its time if we recall the fact that the influence of classicism was favorable to characterisation by rather strict adherence to type. From Aristotle onward, in fact, there is a series of explicit instructions and criticisms on this point. The following passage, from Jeremy Collier's Short View of the Immorality and Profaneness of the English Stage (1698), is a good seventeenth-century example:

The propriety of *Manners* consists in a Conformity of Practise and Principle; of Nature, and Behaviour. For the purpose: An old Man must not appear with the Profuseness and Levity of Youth; A Gentleman must not talk like a Clown, nor a Country Girl like a Town Jilt. And when the *Characters* are feign'd 'tis *Horace's* Rule to keep them Uniform, and consistent, and agreeable to their first setting out. The *Poet* must be careful to hold his *Persons* tight to their *Calling* and pretentions. He must not shift, and shuffle their Understandings; Let them skip from Wits to Blockheads, nor from Courtiers to Pedants. On the other hand. If their business is playing the Fool, keep them strictly to their Duty, and never indulge them in fine Sentences. To manage otherwise, is to disert *Nature*, and makes the *Play* appear monstrous, and Chimerical. So that instead of an *Image of Life*, 'tis rather an Image of Impossibility (third edition, 1698, pp. 218–219).

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Anagrams, / Acrosticks, Chronosticks, &c / By Ra[lph] Johnson Schoolmaster. / [motto] / London, / Printed for Tho. Pierrepont *at the Sun in* St Pauls Churchyard, 1665.

The definition and rules[1] are these:

A character is a witty and facetious description of the nature and qualities of some person, or sort of people.

1. Chuse a Subject, viz. such a sort of men as will admit of variety of observation, such be, drunkards, usurers, lyars, taylors, excise-men, travellers, pedlars, merchants, tapsters, lawyers, an upstart gentleman, a young Justice, a Constable, an Alderman, and the like.

2. Express their natures, qualities, conditions, practices, tools, desires, aims, or ends, by witty Allegories, or Allusions, to things or terms in nature, or art, of like nature and resemblance, still striving for wit and pleasantness, together with tart nipping jerks about their vices or miscarriages.

3. Conclude with some witty and neat passage, leaving them to the effect of their follies or studies.

It would be merely speculation, though not absurd speculation, to say that John Dunton himself may have had to commit this passage to memory; but it is surely not speculation to infer, merely from the presence of a definition of the "character" in a single book of this kind, that the form was generally recognized and that it was practised in schools just when that fact might easily have influenced Dunton.

That inference can be amply supported from other definitions of the character and from the existence of a very large number of books containing characters. Let us first supplement Johnson's definition from other seventeenth-century sources, and then consider some of the principal books of characters that Dunton may have known.

In 1614, just after the shameful death of Sir Thomas Overbury, there appeared a famous collection of characters by Overbury and his friends. The first edition, containing twenty-one characters, was soon followed by others with additional characters. The ninth impression,[2] 1616, has no fewer than eighty-two characters, of which one is a definition of a character, as follows:

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[1] P. 15.

[2] Sir Thomas Overbury / His / Wife. / With / Addition Of / many new Elegies upon his / untimely and much lamented death. / As Also / New Newes, and diuers more Characters, / (neuer before annexed) written by him- / selfe

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To square out a character by our English levell it is a picture (reall or personall) quaintly drawne, in various colours, all of them heightned by one shadowing.

It is a quick and soft touch of many strings, all shutting up in one musicall close; it is wits descant on any plaine song.[1]

Although the author of this, by practising the quaintness which he preaches, may seem to have confused the subject rather than defined it, yet in one important respect he does modify the impression left by Johnson: he shows that the character may have for its subject a thing as well as a person. As a matter of fact, there are a great many impersonal characters.[2]

Another modification needs to be made in Johnson's definition — or rather in the impression left by his rules: the character is by no means necessarily adverse. Fuller's "Holy State" is more than three times as large as his "Profane State;" Hall gives us eleven "Characterisms of Virtues;" Earle has such types as a Grave Divine, a Contemplative Man, a Good Old Man; Overbury has A Wise Man, A Noble Spirit, and many others. In fact, almost every writer of characters except Samuel Butler composed many that were not adverse.

Various other character-writers[3] contribute to a definition. They show us that the character is brief,[4] witty,[5] and didactic in purpose.[6]

and other learned Gentlemen. / The ninth impression augmented. / London, / Printed by Edward Griffin for Laurence L'isle, and / are to be sold at his shop at the Tigers head in / Pauls Churchyard, 1616 (British Museum, 12331. aa. 46).

[1] Overbury's Miscellaneous Works, ed. E. F. Rimbault (Library of Old Authors), London, 1856, pp. 168–169.

[2] Overbury himself has a character of a prison; Earle (1628) has characters of a tavern, a bowling-alley, Paul's Walk, and a prison; and of the thirty-six characters in Donald Lupton's London and the Country Carbonadoed, and Quartred into Seuerall Characters (1632) only nine are of people. The last book, however, is exceptional in this respect.

[3] There are definitions of the character in S. Person's An Anatomicall Lecture of Man . . . in Essays and Characters, 1664; Richard Flecknoe's Fifty-five Enigmatical Characters, 1665; Seventy-eight Characters of so many Vertuous and Vitious Persons, 1677; Sir Roger L'Estrange's A Brief History of the Times &c. in a Preface to the Third Volume of Observators, 1687.

[4] "Every line is a sentence, & every two a period . . . ; tis all *matter*, and to the *matter*, and has nothing of superfluity, nothing of circumlocution" (Flecknoe).

"Here a man writes a great deal in a little room" (Person).

[5] That the character strives for wit has already appeared from the definitions of Overbury and Johnson.

[6] "It not only delights but teaches and moves withall, and is a *Sermon* as well as Picture to every one" (Flecknoe).

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They also show us — and this is important in considering Dunton — that the character is generic though at the same time faithful to life,[1] and that the writer of characters intentionally exaggerates[2] by making the good people better than in real life and the bad people worse.[3]

[1] "It is the Counterpane of Natures Book, and also of each Individuum" (Person).

"The subject of them is taken from the observations of several *Natures*, *Humors*, and *Dispositions*; and whilst I name no body, let no body name themselves if they be wise" (Seventy-eight Characters).

"A Character, . . . Shoots *Hail*-Shot, and *Strikes* a great many *more* than ever the *Marks*-man, either *Aim'd* at, or *Dreamt* of" (L'Estrange).

This last phase of the matter is excellently put in the dialogue about the "Character-Coat" in Defoe's Review (vol. vii. numb. 15) reprinted in Mr. Andrew McFarland Davis's A Bibliographical Puzzle (Publications of this Society, xiii. 9–10).

[2] "It extols to *Heaven*, or depresses into *Hell*; having no mid'place for *Purgatory* left" (Flecknoe).

[3] To bring to a close this explanation of the character there is reprinted below John Earle's portrait of "A Modest Man," which appeared in 1628 in the Microcosmography:

A Modest Man

Is a far finer man than he knows of; one that shewes better to all men then himselfe, and so much the better to al men, as lesse to himselfe: for no quality sets a man off like this, and commends him more against his will: And he can put up any injury sooner then this, (as he cals it) your Irony. You shall heare him confute his commenders, and giving reasons how much they are mistaken, and is angry almost, if they do not beleeve him. Nothing threatens him so much as great expectation, which he thinks more prejudiciall then your under-opinion, because it is easier to make that false then this true. He is one that sneaks from a good action, as one that had pilfered, and dare not justifie it, and is more blushingly deprehended in this, then others in sin. That counts al publike declarings of himselfe but so many penances before the people, and the more you applaud him, the more you abash him, and he recovers not his face a moneth after. One that is easie to like anything of another man's, and thinkes all hee knowes not of him better then that he knowes. He excuses that to you, which another would impute, and if you pardon him, is satisfied. One that stands in no opinion because it is his owne, but suspects it rather, because it is his owne, and is confuted, and thankes you. Hee sees nothing more willingly then his errors; and it is his error sometimes to be too soone perswaded. He is content to be Auditor, where hee only can speake, and content to goe away, and thinke himselfe instructed. No man is so weake that he is ashamed to learne of, and is lesse ashamed to confesse it: and he findes many times even in the dust, what others overlooke and lose. Every man's presence is a kinde of bridle to him, to stop the roving of his tongue and passions: and even impudent men looke for this reverence from him, and distaste that in him, which they suffer in themselves, as one in whom vice is ill-favoured, and shewes more scurvily then another. And hee is coward to nothing more then an ill tongue, and whosoever dare lye on him hath power over him,

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It is perhaps beginning to be clear that the character was a popular and prolific form. Bishop Hall's Characters of Virtues and Vices (1608) contained twenty-six separate characters; Overbury's characters, eighty-two in all, reached an eighteenth impression in 1664; Earle's Microcosmography, first published in 1628, contained seventy-eight characters and reached an eighth edition within sixteen years. Thomas Fuller's The Holy and the Profane State (1642), which contained forty-nine characters, went through at least four editions by 1663. Samuel Butler's characters, posthumously published, number no fewer than one hundred and eighty-seven. These are merely the greater names. In addition there were scores by minor or anonymous authors, and also — particularly after the beginning of the Civil War — an immense number of pamphlets containing single characters. It would, in fact, be an entirely sober statement to say that when Dunton sailed for New England he might, had he collected character books as George Thomason did his pamphlets, have been the possessor of between three and four hundred of these volumes, containing in all considerably over a thousand separate characters.[1]

But let me not by mentioning George Thomason seem to disparage the labors of John Dunton, particularly with reference to the character. For the fact is that of the portraits in the Letters from New England — Mr. Heath, Dr. Bullivant, the jailer, Mrs. Green, the Widow Brick, and all the rest of them — no fewer than thirty-two are, either wholly or in part, taken almost verbatim from such books of characters as we have been discussing. The discovery of this fact, which radically modifies our estimate of the Letters, is the chief occasion for this paper.

and if you take him by his looke, he is guilty. The maine ambition of his life is not to be discredited: and for other things, his desires are more limited then his fortunes, which he thinkes preferment though never so meane, and that he is to doe something to deserve this. Hee is too tender to venter on great places, and would not hurt a dignity to helpe himselfe. If he doe, it was the violence of his friends constrained him, and how hardly soever hee obtaine it, he was harder perswaded to seeke it.

[1] E. C. Baldwin's bibliography of character-books (Publications of the Modern Language Association of America, New Series, xii. no. 1, pp. 104–114), though the largest in print, could be supplemented by hundreds of other titles. The collections and notes of Philip Bliss, appended to his edition (London, 1811) of Earle's Microcosmography, are very useful. Some of the best characters are collected in Henry Morley's Character Writings of the Seventeenth Century (Morley's Carisbrooke Library, London, 1891).

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To see how he does it let us place side by side Dunton's character of Mr. Heath [1] and Thomas Fuller's character of "The Good Merchant" in the Holy and the Profane State (1642): [2]

FULLER	DUNTON
	The next I 'll mention shall be Mr. Heath — a grave and sober Merchant: And were I now to write the Character of a good Merchant, I wou'd as soon take him for the Exemplar of one, as any Man I know. This I am sure, he never wrongs the Man that buys of him, in Number, Weight or Measure. For 'tis his Judgment that these are the Statute Laws of Trade, which, like those of the Medes and Persians, must never be reinov'd; and I have heard him say that such a Cozenage is worse than open Felony; because they rob a Man of's Purse, and never bid him stand; and besides that they Endeavour to make God accessory to their cozenage by false weights : For God is the Principal Clerk of the Market: All the Weights of the Bag (as Solomon tells us, Prov. 16, 11,) being his Work.
. . . He wrongs not the buyer in number, weight, or measure.	There are two things remarkable in him, (and I will instance no more.) One is, That he never warrants any Ware for good, but what is so indeed: And the other, That he makes no Advantage of his Chapman's ignorance, especially if he referrs himself to his Honesty. Where the Conscience of the Seller is all the Skill of the Buyer, the Seller is made the Judge, so that he doth not so much ask as Order what he must pay. I have read that old Bishop Latimer once bought a knife that cost him two pence (which was it seems accounted a great Price in those days), and shewing it unto his Friend, he told him, The Cutler had cozen'd him, for the knife was not worth a
These are the landmarks of all trading, which must not be removed: for such cozenage were worse than open felony. First, Because they rob a man of his purse and never bid him stand. . . . Thirdly, as much as lies in their power, they endeavour to make God accessory to their cozenage, . . . For God is the principal clerk of the market: *all the weights of the bag are his work.* Prov. xvi. 11.	
2. He never warrants any ware for good, but what is so indeed . . . 5. He makes no advantage of his chapman's ignorance, chiefly if referring himself to his honesty: where the seller's conscience is all the buyer's skill, who makes him both seller and judge, so that he doth not so much ask as order what he must pay.	
. . . . . When one told old Bishop Latimer that the cutler had cozened him in making him pay twopence for a knife, not in those days worth a penny:	

[1] Letters, pp. 88–89.

[2] I have used Pickering's edition, London, 1840. The character there occupies pages 88–91.

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No, quoth Latimer, he cozened not me, but his own conscience. One the other side, St. Augustine [1] tells us of a seller, who out of ignorance asked for a book far less than it was worth; and the buyer (conceive himself to be the man if you please) of his own accord gave him the full value thereof.

penny: No, replied Latimer, he coz-en'd not me, but his own Conscience. So far from that was this honest Gentleman, that when a Bookseller (that shall be nameless) did out of Ignorance demand less for a Book than it was truly worth, he of his own accord gave him the full value of it. This honest Gentleman did me the favour to be my daily Visitor, and has brought me acquainted with one Mr. Gore of New York, with whom I trade, which I hope will be to my advantage.

The character of Daniel Epes [2] of Salem is worth noting, partly because it occurs in the Life and Errors [3] though not in the Letters, and partly because in forming this portrait Dunton, instead of taking a single earlier character, as he usually does, has combined Earle's "Downright Scholar" and his "Contemplative Man," [4] both printed in 1628:

EARLE

He has not humbled his meditations to the industry of complement, nor afflicted his brain in an elaborate leg. . . . . He cannot kiss his hand and cry, madam, nor talk idle enough to bear her company. . . . The hermitage of his study has made him somewhat uncouth in the world, . . . He will not lose his time by being busy, or make so poor a use of the world as to hug and embrace it.

DUNTON

I must also remember the great civilities I met at Salem from Mr. *Epes*, (the most eminent Schoolmaster in New-England): He hath sent many Scholars to the University in New-England. He is much of a Gentleman; yet has not humbled his meditations to the industry of compliments, nor afflicted his brain in an elaborate leg, (he cannot kiss his hand, and cry, Madam, your humble servant, nor talk idle enough to bear her company). But though a School, and the Hermitage of his Study, has made him uncourtly, yet (which is a finer accomplishment) he is a person of solid Learning; and does not, like some Authors, lose his time by being busy about nothing, nor make so poor a use of the World, as to hug and embrace it.

[1] Lib. 13 de Trinitat. c. 3. The footnote is Fuller's.

[2] Of the Class of 1669. Sibley (Harvard Graduates, ii. 266) cites Dunton's character of Epes.

[3] i. 128. Cf. note 2 on p. 252, below.

[4] The last sentence is from "A Contemplative Man;" the rest is from "A Downright Scholar" (Microcosmography, ed. 1811, pp. 61–63, 93).

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A few of Dunton's minor figures, who have no names, are also copied from earlier books of characters. Such are the host at Gravesend, the jailer at Boston, and the troublesome landlord at Lynn.[1] The first of these is reprinted below in comparison with the character of "An Host" in the Overbury collection of 1614:

Sir Thomas Overbury An Host	Dunton
. . . He consists of double beere and fellowship, . . .	As soon as we had look'd a little about the Town, we went into an Inn, where we found our Host a man that consisted of Double (Beer)[2] and fellowship; for as he was sure to supply us with Drink even without asking, so he would always thrust himself in for a snack, in helping to drink it; yet to say the truth, he was a Man of great humility, and gave us power as well over himself as his house. I observ'd him to be exceeding willing to answer all Mens Expectations to the utmost of his Power, unless it were in the Reckoning, and there he would be absolute; and had got that Trick of Court-Greatness, to lay all mistakes upon his Servants. His wife was like Cummin-seed to a Dove-house, and helpt to draw in the Customers; and to be a good Guest, was a sufficient Warrant for her Liberty. And to give you his character in few words, he is an absolute slave, for he neither eats, drinks, nor thinks, but at other mens charges and Appointments. But he sells himself at an Extravagant rate, and makes all his Customers pay dearly for the Purchase. Nor was he at all singular, for in the whole Town, there was never a Barrel better Herring (Letters, pp. 11–12).
He entertaines humbly, and gives his guests power, as well of himselfe as house. He answers all mens expectations to his power, save in the reckoning: and hath gotten the tricke of greatnesse, to lay all mislikes upon his servants. His wife is the *cummin seed* of his dove-house; and to be a good guest is a warrant for her liberty. . . . In a word, hee is none of his owne: for he neither eats, drinks, or thinks, but at other mens charges and appointments (Overbury's Works, ed. Rimbault, p. 71).	

It is astonishing to note the plausibility of Dunton's past tenses here and of his assurance that he himself observed the facts.

[1] Letters, pp. 11–12, 120–121, 169–170. The sources are indicated in the table (pp. 247–253, below).

[2] Whitmore has "Beds." Here, and several times elsewhere, Dunton is so faithful to the original that one can safely emend Whitmore's text.

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And now we must look at Comfort Wilkins, Mrs. Green, and the Flower of Boston. There are, to be sure, other women characterized in the Letters: Mrs. D ———, Mrs. T ———, Mrs. F ——— y, and three others,[1] all unfavorably delineated, are copied from earlier books of characters. But the Damsel (Comfort Wilkins), Mrs. Green, and the Widow Brick are far more elaborately portrayed than any of the other characters in the Letters. Not only does Dunton devote more space to summarizing their virtues, but he represents them as playing a considerable part in his stay here. In fact, Mrs. Green used to tell him that if Mrs. Dunton should die, "none was fit to succeed her but Madam Brick." "The Widow Brick was without doubt," says Whitmore,[2] "Joanna, daughter of Arthur Mason, who married first Robert Breck, and secondly Michael Perry. From Dunton we have the following items for identification: She was a widow, twenty-two years old in 1686, the mother of two children, and a member of Rev. James Allen's church."[3] The character certainly fulfills these requirements, and, although Dunton in his manuscript first wrote "Mrs. Birch" and then crossed it out in favor of "Mrs. Brick," I dare say Whitmore is partly right. But it is equally true that Mrs. Brick is the third section of the third part of the "Ladies Calling . . . By the Author of the Whole Duty of Man," &c., which reached a fifth edition in 1677.[4] I

[1] The three others are Mrs. Ab——l; Doll S——der; and Mrs. ——, who in the Life and Errors (i. 110–111) is called Mrs. H. For their sources, see the table, pp. 247–253, below.

[2] Letters, p. 106 note.

[3] The First Church of Boston. Whitmore might have added that Dunton's Madam Brick had been a widow two years (Letters, p. 110). Whether this is true of Mrs. Robert Breck I do not know.

Joanna Mason, the daughter of Arthur and Joanna (Parker) Mason, was born March 26, 1664 (Boston Record Commissioners' Reports, ix. 92). The date of her marriage to Robert Breck seems not to be known. Of her two children, the elder, Joanna, was born June 12, 1681 (ix. 154), and the younger, Robert, on April 30, 1683 (ix. 159). The Widow Brick married Michael Perry on July 12, 1694 (ix. 218).

[4] The first edition appears to have been printed at Oxford in 1673. The British Museum has a copy of the second edition (Oxford, 1673) and of the third edition (Oxford, 1675). The Harvard Library has a copy of the fifth edition (Oxford, 1677) as well as a folio volume, very well printed "at the Theater in Oxford" in 1684, containing The Ladies Calling as the first piece in The Second Part Of The Works Of the Learned and Pious Author Of The Whole Duty of Man.

On the much disputed authorship of The Whole Duty of Man, see the Intro-

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reproduce the entire character with portions of the earlier character beside it.[1]

THE LADIES CALLING

1. The next state which can succeed to that of Marriage, is Widow-hood.

She is a woman whose head hath been quite cut off, and yet she liveth.[2]

. . . *Love is strong as death*, Cant. 8. 6. and therefore when it is pure and genuine, cannot be extinguish'd by it, but burns like the Funeral-Lamps of old even in Vaults and Charnel-houses. The conjugal Love, transplanted into the Grave . . . improves into Piety, and laies a kind of sacred Obligation upon the Widow, to perform all offices of respect and kindness which his remains are capable of.

2. Now those Remains are of three sorts, his Body, his Memory, and his Children. The most proper expression of her love to the first, is in giving it an honorable Enterment; . . . prudently proportion'd to his Quality and Fortune, so that her Zeal to his Corps may not injure a Nobler Relic of him, his Children.

DUNTON

The Character of The Widow Brick, the very Flower of Boston; That of a Widow is the next state or change that can succeed to that of marriage. And I have chosen my Friend the Widow Brick, as an Exemplar to shew you what a Widow is: Madam Brick is a Gentlewoman whose *Head* (i. e. her Husband) has been cut off, and yet she lives and Walks: But don't be frighted, for she's Flesh and Blood still, and perhaps some of the *finest* that you ever saw. She has sufficiently evidenc'd that her Love to her late Husband is as strong as Death, because Death has not been able to Extinguish it, but it still burns like the Funeral Lamps of old, even in Vaults and Charnel-Houses; But her Conjugal Love, being Transplanted into the Grave, has improv'd it self into Piety, and laid an Obligation upon her to perform all offices of Respect and Kindness to his Remains, which they are capable of.

As to his Body, she gave it a decent Enterment, suitable to his quality; or rather above it, as I have been inform'd; for Mr. Brick was Dead and Buried before I came to Boston. And that this was the Effect of that dear love she had for him, appears in this, That she wou'd not suffer the Funeral Charges to make any Abatement from

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duction to Pickering's edition of it (1842); Hearne's Remarks and Collections, ed. C. E. Doble, Oxford Historical Society, i. 17, 19, 282, 324; ii. 299; iv. 420; C. E. Doble in the Academy (1882), ii. 348, 364, 382; and the articles in the Dictionary of National Biography on Richard Allestree, Richard Sterne, and John Fell. Mr. Doble thinks that The Whole Duty of Man was written by Sterne and revised by Fell.

[1] It will be observed that Dunton uses, in addition to The Ladies Calling, two short passages from Thomas Fuller's character of "The Good Widow" in The Holy and the Profane State (1642).

[2] Fuller, "The Good Widow" (Holy and Profane State, ed. 1840, p. 19).

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THE LADIES CALLING

Her grief for her husband though real, is moderate, . . . our widow's sorrow is no storm, but a still rain.[1]

And this decency is a much better instance of her kindness, then all those Tragical Furies wherewith some Women seem transported towards their dead Husbands, those frantic Embraces and caresses of a Carcass, which betray a little too much the sensuality of their Love. And . . . those vehement Passions quickly exhaust themselves, and . . . seems rather to vanish then consume.

3. The more valuable Kindness therefore, is that to his Memory, endevouring to embalm that, keep it from perishing. . . .

. . . She is . . . to perfume his Memory . . . by reviving the remembrance of whatever there was praiseworthy in him, vindicating him from all Calumnies and false Accusations, and stifling (or allaying) even true ones as much as she can.

And indeed a Widow can no way better provide for her own Honor, then by this tenderness of her Husbands.

4. Yet there is another Expression of it, inferior to none of the former, and that is the setting such a value upon her relation to him, as to do nothing unworthy of it.

'Twas the dying charge of *Augustus* to his Wife *Livia, Behave thy self well, and remember our Marriage.* And she who has bin wife to a Person of Honor,

DUNTON

the Children's Portions. Her grief for his Death was such as became her, great but moderate, not like a hasty Shower, but a still Rain: She knew nothing of those Tragical Furies wherewith some Women seem Transported towards their Dead Husbands; those frantick Embraces and Caresses of a Carcass, betray a little too much the Sensuality of their Love. Such violent Passions quickly spend themselves, and seem rather to Vanish than Consume. But Madam Brick griev'd more moderately, and more lastingly. She knew there was a better way of Expressing her Love to him, and therefore made it her Business to Embalm his Memory, and keep that from Perishing. And I always observ'd, That whenever she spoke of her Husband, it was in the most Endearing manner. Nor cou'd she ever mention him, without paying the Tribute of a Tear to his Memory. She wou'd often be reviving the remembrance of some Praise-worthy Quality or other in him; and if any happen'd to say something of him not so commendable, she wou'd excuse it with a world of Sweetness, and by a frowning glance at the Relator, declare how much she was displeas'd. And tho' I cannot think it her design, yet I believe she was sensible enough that she cou'd no way better provide for her own Honour than by this Tenderness she shew'd for her Husband's. But Madam Brick shew'd a better way of expressing the Honour she had for her Husband's Memory, and that is, She set such a value on her Relation to her Husband, as to do nothing that might seem unworthy of it.

Historians inform us, That 'twas the Dying Charge of Augustus to the Empress Livia, Behave thy self well, and remember our Marriage. This

[1] Fuller, "The Good Widow" (Holy and Profane State, ed. 1840, p. 19).

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THE LADIES CALLING

must so remember it, as not to do any thing below her self, or which he (could he have foreseen it) should justly have bin ashamed of.

5. The last Tribute she can pay him, is in his Children. These he leaves as his Proxies to receive the kindness of which himself is incapable;

so that the Children of a Widow may clame a double portion of the Mothers love; one upon their Native right, as hers; the other, as a bequest in right of their dead Father.
And, indeed, since she is to supply the place of both Parents, 'tis but necessary she should put on the Affections of both, and to the tenderness of a Mother, add the care and conduct of a Father. First, in a sedulous care of their Education: and next in a prudent managery of their Fortunes; . . .

. . . will furnish them with Ingenious and Vertuous Principles, such as may set them above all vile and ignoble practices.

. . . As to the . . . managing of their Fortune, there is the same rule . . . , *viz.* to do as for themselves, that is, with the same care and diligence (if not a greater) as in her own Concern. I do not say that she shall confound the property, and make it indeed her own, by applying it to her peculiar use, a thing I fear which is often don, especially by the gaier sort of widows, who to keep up their own Equipage, do sometimes incroach upon their sons peculiar.

10. I have hitherto spoke of what the widow ows to her dead husband;

DUNTON

Madam Brick made her Care; For having been the Wife of a Gentleman of good Quality, she so remember'd it, as not to do any thing below her self, or which Mr. Brick (cou'd he have foreseen it) might justly have been asham'd of. But Madam Brick had yet another way of Expressing the Value she had for Mr. Brick, and that is, by the kindness she show'd to the Children which he left behind him, which were only two: And this was so remarkably Eminent in her, that I have heard her say, Her Children might now claim a double Portion in her love, one on their Native Right, as being Hers; and the other on the Right of their dead Father, who had left them to her: "And truly," said she, "since I must supply the place of both Parents, 'tis but necessary that I shou'd put on the Affections of both; and to the Tenderness of a Mother, add the Care and Conduct of a Father." She was as good as her Word, both in a sedulous care of their Education, and in a Prudent Management of their Fortunes. As to their Education she took care that they might have that Learning that was proper for them, and above all, that they might be furnished with ingenuous and vertuous Principles, founded on the Fear of God, which is the beginning of all true Wisdom. And as to their Fortunes, she was so far from Embeziling them, a Practice too common with some Widows, that she augmented them, while it was in the Power of her hand to do it. (For Madam Brick is but a Young Widow, tho' she is the Mother of two Children.)

But Madam Brick is one that has yet more refined and Exalted Thoughts:

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THE LADIES CALLING

but there is also somewhat of peculiar Obligation in relation to herself. God who has plac'd us in this World to pursue the interests of a better, directs all the signal acts of his Providence to that end, and intends we should so interpret them . . . and a widow may more then conjecture, that when God takes away the mate of her bosom, reduces her to a solitude, he do's by it sound a retreat from the lighter jollities and gaieties of the world. And as in compliance with civil custom she . . . should put on a more retir'd temper of mind, a more strict and severe behavior:

and that not to be cast off with her veil, but to be the constant dress of her widowhood.

DUNTON

She is highly sensible that God, who has plac'd us in this World to pursue the Interests of a better, directs all the signal Acts of his Providence to that end, and intends we shou'd so interprett them; And therefore she wisely reflected that when God took away from her the Mate of her Bosom, and so reduc'd her to a solitude, he thereby, as it were, Sounded a Retreat to her from the lighter Jollities and Gayeties of the World; and therefore in Compliance to the Divine Will, and that she might the better Answer the Requirement of the Almighty, tho[1] put on a more retired Temper of Mind, and a more strict[2] . . .

Neither, did she suffer Her Pious behaviour, to be cast off with her Widow's Vail, but made it the constant Dress both of her Widowhood and Life; and as a consequence hereof, she became a Member of Mr. Allen's Congregation; and liv'd a life of Sincere Piety: And yet was so far from Sowrness either in her Countenance or Conversation, that nothing was ever more sweet or agreeable: Making it evident that Piety did not consist in Moroseness, nor Sincere Devotion in a supercilious Carriage; 'twas the *Vitals* of Religion that she minded, and not Forms and Modes; and if she found the Power of it in her heart, she did not think her self oblig'd to such a *starch'dness* of Carriage as is usual amongst the Bostonians, who value themselves thereby so much, that they are ready to say to all others, Stand off, for I am holier than thou. She did not think herself concern'd to put on a Sorrowful Countenance, when the Joy of the Lord was her strength.

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[1] So Whitmore, and so Chester MS, Letter iii, p. 48. One would expect "she," as in The Ladies Calling.

[2] Whitmore notes: "Here the manuscript is imperfect."

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THE LADIES CALLING

There are many things which are but the due compliances of a Wife, which yet are great avocations, and interruptions of a strict Devotion; when she is manumitted from that subjection, when she has less of *Martha's Care of serving*, she is then at liberty to chuse *Mary's part*. Luk. 10. 42.

. . . Those hours which were before her husbands right, seem now to devolve on God the grand proprietor of our time: that discourse and free converse wherewith she entertain'd him, she may now convert into colloquies and spiritual entercourse with her maker.

DUNTON

I had much the greater value for Madam Brick, on the Account of a Discourse that past between Mrs. Green and her, which (as Mrs. Green related it to me) was to this effect: Mrs. Green commended her very much, in that being a Young Widow, in the bloom of all her Youth and Beauty, (for she was but twenty-two) she had given up so much of her time to the Exercise of Devotion, and the Worship of God; To which she reply'd, 'She had done but what she ought; for in her Married state she found many things which yet are but the due Compliances of a Wife, which were great Avocations to a Strict Devotion; but being now manumitted from that Subjection, and having less of Martha's Care of Serving, it was but reasonable she shou'd chuse Mary's better part.' "And those hours (added she) which were before my Husband's Right, are now devolv'd on God, the Great Proprietor of all my time: And that Discourse and free Converse with which I us'd to entertain Mr. Brick, ought now to be in Colloquies and heavenly Entercourses with My dear Redeemer." Nor was her Piety and Devotion barren, but fruitful and abounding in the Works of *Charity*, and she cloath'd the Naked as far as her Ability permitted. And tho' my self and Mr. King went thither often (for she wou'd scarce permit a single visit) we never found her without some poor but honest Christian with her, always discoursing of the things of Heaven, and ere she went, supplying of her with the things of Earth. How long she may remain a Widow, I have not yet consulted with the Stars to know, but that she has continu'd so two years, is evident to all that are in Boston.

To conclude her Character, the *Beauty* of her Person, the *Sweetness* and Affability of her Temper, the *Gravity*

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DUNTON

of her Carriage, and her Exalted Piety, gave me so just a value for her, that Mrs. Green wou'd often say, Shou'd Iris Dye (which Heaven forbid) there's none was fit to succeed her but Madam Brick: But Mrs. Green was partial, for my poor Pretences to secure vertue, wou'd ne'er have answer'd to her Towring heighths. 'Tis true, Madam Brick did me the Honour to treat me very kindly at her House, and to admit me often into her Conversation, but I am sure it was not on Love's, but on Vertue's score. For she well knows (at least as well as I do) that Iris is alive: And therefore I must justifie her Innocence on that account. And tho' some have been pleas'd to say, That were I in a single state, they do believe she wou'd not be displeas'd with my Addresses, As this is without any ground but groundless Conjectures, so I hope I shall never be in a capacity to make a Tryal of it.

But, I'm sure our Friendship was all Platonick (so Angels lov'd) and full as Innocent as that of the Philosopher who gave it the name; but if Plato was not very much wrong'd he never lov'd vertue so refinedly, as to like to court her so passionately in a foul or homely habitation as he did in those that were more Beautiful and Lovely; and this sufficiently justifies my Friendship to Madam Brick and her Spotless Innocence in accepting of it. Thus, Reader, I have given you the Character of another of my Friends of the Fair Sex in Boston; and leave you to judge whether or no she deserve the Title of *the Flower of Boston*, which at first sight I gave her (Letters, pp. 105–111).

So much for the Widow Brick, the Flower of Boston. And Comfort Wilkins and Mrs. Green are drawn from the same source — The Ladies Calling. Even the remarks which they are represented as

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actually having made to John Dunton or in his presence are taken almost verbatim from those earlier characters of the abstract Virgin, Wife, and Widow, as conceived by an English clergyman thirteen years before John Dunton came to Boston.

For convenience I have arranged in a table such borrowings in Dunton's Letters as have been traced to their source. The letter W indicates that Dunton's indebtedness was detected by Whitmore.

Dunton's Source	Dunton
	First Letter
Overbury's "Fair and Happy Milkmaid" (Works, ed. Rimbault, pp. 118–119).	Description of a Milkmaid (omitted by Whitmore;[1] see Letters, p. 11).
Overbury's "Host" (Works, p. 71).	The Host and his Wife (pp. 11–12).
Overbury's[2] "Almanac-maker" (Works, pp. 92–93).	An Astrologer (pp. 17–18).
Overbury's "A Maquerela, in plain English a Bawde" (Works, pp. 99–100).	A Bawd.[3]
Overbury's "A Whoore" (Works, pp. 82–83).	An Impudent Whore.[3]
Overbury's "A very Whore" (Works, pp. 83–84).	Another.[3]
	Second Letter
Overbury, "A Saylor" (Works, pp. 75–76).	George Monk, the Mate (p. 26).
Overbury, "A Saylor" (Works, pp. 75–76).	Charles King, the Gunner (p. 26).
Josselyn, p. 8.[4]	St. Elmo's Fire (p. 31).

[1] But to be found on p. 8 of Chester MS, Letter i.

[2] This character originally appeared in the sixth edition (1615) of the Overbury collection, and is regularly spoken of, in a loose way, as Overbury's. But in the second edition (1615) of John Stephens's New Essayes and Characters, a person who signs himself I. Cocke claims as his own three of the Overbury characters, of which one is the Almanac-maker. There is a copy of Stephens's book in the Harvard University Library.

[3] Omitted by Whitmore. Chester MS, Letter i, pp. 23–24.

[4] John Josselyn, An Account of Two Voyages to New England, Made during the years 1638, 1663, Boston, William Veazie, 1865.

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DUNTON'S SOURCE	DUNTON
	Third Letter
Partly from Overbury's "A Wise Man," and partly from Overbury's "A Noble Spirit" (Works, pp. 60–62).	Mr. Burroughs, a Merchant (pp. 59–62).
Josselyn, pp. 124–126.	Description of Boston (pp. 66–69). W.
Josselyn, p. 139.	"There is no trading for a Sharper with them," etc., to end of the sentence (p. 69).
J. W., A Letter from New England, 1682, p. 2.[1]	"As to their religion" (p. 69), etc., to the end of the paragraph. W.
Josselyn, p. 138.	"The Government, both Civil and Ecclesiastical," etc., to the end of the sentence (p. 70).
Josselyn, p. 139.	Account of the collection taken in church after the Sunday afternoon sermon (pp. 70–71).
Josselyn, pp. 137–138.	"Every church (for so they call)," etc., to the end of the following sentence (p. 71).
Josselyn, pp. 134–137.	"As to their laws," and the rest of the paragraph (p. 71). W.
Partly from Josselyn, p. 137.[2]	"For being drunk" (p. 72), etc., through "and so our poor debtors" (p. 73, l. 7). W.
J. W., A Letter from New England.	"But for lying and cheating" (p. 73) through "fasten his Tallons first upon 'em" (p. 74). W.
Probably from Josselyn, p. 39, third paragraph, though not verbatim.	"And thus, my friend," etc., to the end of the paragraph (p. 74).
Fuller, "The Good Merchant" (Holy and Profane State, ed. 1840, pp. 88–91).	Mr. Willy (p. 81).
Earle, "A Modest Man" (Microcosmography, ed. 1811, pp. 147–150).	Mr. Mortimer (p. 86).
Fuller, "The Good Merchant."	Mr. Heath, a good merchant (pp. 88–89).

[1] Letter / From / New-England / Concerning their Customs, Manners, / And / Religion. / . . . . / London. / Printed for Randolph Taylor near Stationers Hall, 1682. Reprinted in facsimile by the Club for Colonial Reprints of Providence, Rhode Island, Providence, 1905. Edited by George Parker Winship.

[2] Dunton copies Josselyn's statements of the punishments; i. e., p. 72, first paragraph as far as the colon; all of the second paragraph; the first sentence in the third; as far as the semicolon in the fourth; all of the last; the first sentence in the first paragraph on p. 73; the first sentence in the second paragraph on p. 73.

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Dunton's Source	Dunton
Overbury, "A Mere Pettifogger" (Works, pp. 129–131).	Mr. Watson, a Lawyer (pp. 89–90).
Contains one sentence from Richard Flecknoe's character "Of an extream Vitious Person." [2]	Mr. C———[1] (p. 90).
Fuller, "The Good Physician" (Holy and Profane State, ed. 1840, p. 42).	Dr. Oaks (p. 93).
Partly from Fuller's "The True Gentleman," partly from his "Good Physician" (Holy and Profane State, ed. 1840, pp. 120–122, 43).	Dr. Bullivant (pp. 94–96).
The Ladies Calling, part ii. Sect. 1.	Comfort Wilkins, a Virgin (pp. 98–102).
The Ladies Calling, ii. Sect. 2.	Mrs. Green, the Wife (pp. 102–105).
The Ladies Calling, ii. Sect. 3. The character of Mrs. Brick also contains two sentences from Fuller's "the Good Widow" (Holy and Profane State, ed. 1840, p. 19).	Madam Brick, the Widow (pp. 106–111).
Fuller's "The Harlot" (Holy and Profane State, ed. 1840, pp. 287–290).	Mrs. Ab——l (pp. 112–113).
Flecknoe, "Of an inconstant disposition" (ed. 1673, p. 17).	Doll S———der (p. 115).
Flecknoe, "Of a Proud One" (Fifty-five Enigmatical Characters, 1665.[4] The character "Of a Proud One," which is not mentioned in the table of contents, stands between Nos. 31 and 32). This character also contains one sentence ("Had she been with the Israelites," etc.) from Fuller's essay "Of Apparel" (Holy and Profane State, ed. 1840, p. 133).	Mrs. ———[3] (pp. 115–116).
	Third Letter (continued) [5]
Earle, "A Prison" (Microcosmography, 1811, pp. 156–158).	The Prison, in Prison Lane (pp. 118–119).
Overbury, "A Jailer" (Works, ed. Rimbault, pp. 166–168).	The Jailer (pp. 120–121).

[1] Omitted by Whitmore. Chester MS, Letter iii, pp. 28–29.

[2] A / Collection / Of the choicest / Epigrams / And / Characters / of / Richard Flecknoe. / Being rather a New Work, / then a New Impression / of the Old. / Printed for the Author 1673, p. 34. There is a copy in the Harvard University Library.

[3] In the Life and Errors (pp. 110–111) she is called Mrs. H——.

[4] Bodleian Library. Wood 868. (5.)

[5] Whitmore divides the third letter into two parts.

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DUNTON'S SOURCE	DUNTON
Cotton Mather, The Call of the Gospel Applyed, etc., Second edition, 1687 (Sibley No. 5).[2]	Cotton Mather on the execution of Morgan (pp. 122–124).[1] W.
Joshua Moody, An Exhortation to a Condemned Malefactor, etc., 1687.[2]	Joshua Moody on the same[1] (pp. 125–129). W.
Increase Mather, A Sermon, Occasioned by the Execution, etc., Second Edition, 1687.[2]	Increase Mather on the same[1] (pp. 129–135). W.
Increase Mather, A Sermon occasioned by the Execution, etc., pp. 35–36.[2]	Morgan's last words (pp. 135–136). W.
	Fourth Letter
	First Ramble (To Charlestown).
Josselyn, p. 126.	Description of Charlestown (pp. 149–150).
Roger Williams, Key, pp. 100–105.[3]	Indian Hospitality (pp. 151–153). W.

[1] These borrowings are, of course, acknowledged by Dunton.

[2] A Sermon / Occasioned by the Execution of / a man found Guilty of / Murder / Preached at Boston in N. E. March 11th 168¾ / Together with the Confession, Last Expressions, / & solemn Warning of that Murderer to all per- / sons; especially to Young men, to beware of those / Sins which brought him to his miserable End. / By Increase Mather, Teacher of / Church of Christ. / The Second Edition. / [Texts: Deut. 19. 20, 21; Prov. 28. 17] / Boston, Printed by R. P. Sold by J. Brunning / Book-seller, at his Shop at the Corner of the / Prison-Lane next the Exchange. Anno 1687.

This seems to serve as the general title for the volume; at least, the copy in the Harvard Library, which is paged continuously, has no other title at the beginning. Increase Mather's sermon occupies pp. 1–36. Then comes "The / Call of the Gospel / Applyed / Unto All men in general, and / Unto a Condemned Malefactor in particular. / In a Sermon, Preached on the 7th / Day of March. 1686. / At the Request, and in the Hearing of a man under / a just Sentence of Death for the horrid Sin of / Murder. / By Cotton Mather. / Pastor to a Church at Boston in N. E. / The Second Edition. / [Text] / [Motto] / Printed at Boston, by Richard Pierce. 1687." Cotton Mather's sermon occupies pp. 37–82, and is followed by "An / Exhortation / To A Condemned / Malefactor / Delivered March the 7th 1686. / By Joshua Moody, Preacher of / the Gospel at Boston in New-England. / [Texts] / Printed at Boston, by R. P. Anno 1687." Moody's sermon occupies pp. 83–113. Then follows (p. 114) an address from "The Printer to the Reader," which is signed "R. P." Then comes (pp. 115–124) "The Discourse of the Minister with / James Morgan on the Way to his Execution."

[3] A Key into the Language of America: Or, An help to the Language of the Natives in that part of America, called New-England. Together, with briefe Observations of the Customes, Manners and Worships, etc. of the aforesaid Natives, . . . By Roger Williams . . . London, . . . 1643. (Reprinted by the Narragansett Club, Fifth Series, Volume i. Providence, 1866). My references, like Whitmore's, are to the numbering of the volume, which contains other tracts besides the Key.

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Dunton's Source	Dunton
	Second Ramble (To Medford).
Roger Williams, Key, pp. 107–108.	Indian Hospitality, continued (p. 155). W.
	Third Ramble (To New-Town).
Josselyn, p. 127.	Description of New Town (pp. 155–156).
	Fourth Ramble (To Winnisimet).
Josselyn, p. 128.	Description of the Town (pp. 163, 167).
Roger Williams, Key, pp. 120–128, 132–135.	Indian Houses (pp. 163–167). W.
	Fifth Ramble (To Lynn).
Roger Williams, Key, pp. 158–162.	Indian Travelling (pp. 168–169). W.
Josselyn, p. 128.	Description of Lynn (p. 169).
Earle, "A bold, forward Man" (Microcosmography, ed. 1811, pp. 122–125).	The Troublesome Host (pp. 169–170).
Roger Williams, Key, pp. 207–220.	Indian Religion (pp. 171–176). W.
	Sixth Ramble (To Nantascot).
Roger Williams, Key, pp. 233–237.	Indian Money (pp. 177–179). W.
Josselyn, pp. 122–123.	Description of Nantascot (including the paragraph beginning, "Being come to Nantascot," and also the next paragraph).
	Seventh Ramble (To Wissaguset).
Roger Williams, Key, pp. 248–252.	Indian Hunting (pp. 181–182). W.
Josselyn, p. 123.	Description of the Town (p. 183).
	Eighth Ramble (To Braintree).
Roger Williams, Key, p. 167.	Climate of New England (pp. 184–185). W.
Josselyn, p. 123.	Description of Braintree (p. 185).
	Ninth Ramble (To Dorchester).
Roger Williams, Key, pp. 196–202.	Fish of New England (pp. 186–189). W.
Roger Williams, Key, pp. 187–190.	Beasts of New England (pp. 189–190). W.
Josselyn, pp. 123–124.	Description of Dorchester (pp. 190–191).
	Tenth Ramble (To Roxbury).
Josselyn, p. 124.	Description of Roxbury (p. 192).
Cotton Mather, Life of Eliot (ed. 1691, portions of pp. 6–73; ed. 1694, pp. 6–78; Magnalia, ed. 1702, bk. iii. pp. 173–190).	Life and Character of Eliot (pp. 194–199). W.
Cotton Mather, Life of Eliot (ed. 1691, pp. 74 ff; ed. 1694, pp. 78 ff; Magnalia, ed. 1702, bk. iii. pp. 190 ff).	Conversion of the Indians (pp. 200–202). W.

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DUNTON'S SOURCE	DUNTON
	Fifth Letter
Cotton Mather, Life of Eliot (ed. 1691, pp. 88 ff; ed. 1694, pp. 94 ff; Magnalia, ed. 1702, bk. iii. p. 194).	Eliot's Labors among the Indians (pp. 211–212).
Josselyn, p. 127.	Description of Watertown (pp. 214–215).
Josselyn, pp. 37–38.	Brief description (about 12 lines) of the country through which he rode to Watertown (p. 216).
Cotton Mather, Magnalia, ed. 1702, bk. vi. p. 51.	The Indian Government (pp. 218–220, l. 8).
Roger Williams, Key, pp. 163–166.	Authority of the Prince's Punishments (p. 220, two paragraphs).
Cotton Mather, Life of Eliot (ed. 1691, pp. 80 ff; ed. 1694, pp. 85 ff; Magnalia, ed. 1702, bk. iii. pp. 192 ff).	Of the conversion of the Indians (pp. 221–224). W.
Roger Williams, Key, pp. 203–205.	Indian Clothing (pp. 224–225). W.
Cotton Mather, Life of Eliot (ed. 1691, pp. 100 ff, 104–108, 89–92; ed. 1694, pp. 106 ff, 111–116, 95–99; Magnalia, ed. 1702, bk. iii. pp. 197 ff, 198–199, 194).	The Converted Indians of Natick (pp. 225–233). W.
John Eliot, The Dying Speeches of Several Indians.[1]	Dying Speeches of Indians (pp. 233–241). W.
	Sixth Letter
Josselyn, p. 132.	Settlement of Salem[2] (pp. 252–253).
Overbury, "A Reverend Judge" (Works, ed. Rimbault, pp. 136–137).	Mr. Sewel (p. 254)

[1] Through the kindness of Professor W. W. Lawrence of Columbia University, Mr. Will T. Hale transcribed for me from the copy of the original edition in the New York Public Library the portions of Eliot's book here used by Dunton. The text of Eliot is copied almost verbatim.

On the date of the original, Sabin (No. 22148) remarks: "The date of 1665 which has been assigned to it, is doubtless incorrect, as on page 25 following Eliot speaks of John Speen and Anthony as living in 1670, whose 'Dying Speeches' are given in the tract named."

[2] From his account in the Letters of the visit to Salem, Dunton omits a character of Mr. Daniel Epes (Life and Errors, p. 128), which is taken from Earle's "A Down-right Scholar" (Microcosmography, 1811, pp. 61–64). Whitmore (p. 256 note) notices the omission, quotes the character of Mr. Epes and the two following paragraphs from the Life and Errors, and observes that they "doubtless should be in the text" of the Letters at this point. But he strangely fails to remember that the third of these paragraphs, very slightly modified to make it fit Boston instead of Salem, *had* been incorporated in the Letters and is to be found on pp. 62–63 of his own edition.

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Dunton's Source	Dunton
Earle, "A Grave Divine" (Microcosmography, ed. 1811, pp. 9–11).	Mr. Higgins(on) (pp. 254–255).
	Seventh Letter
Roger Williams, Key, pp. 228–231.	Marriage Customs of Indians (pp. 267–269). W.
Josselyn, pp. 129–130.	Description of Wenham and the surrounding country (pp. 271–272).
Roger Williams, Key, p. 180.	Indian Husbandry (pp. 272–275). W.
Roger Williams, Key, pp. 246–247, 239–245.	Indian Trade and Money (pp. 277–279). W.
Josselyn, p. 129.	Description of Ipswich (p. 280).
Overbury, "A Good Wife" (Works, ed. Rimbault, pp. 72–73).	Mrs. Steward (p. 281).
Overbury, "A Noble and Retired Housekeeper" (Works, pp. 115–116).	Mr. Steward (pp. 281–282).
Roger Williams, Key, pp. 258–264.	Indian Warfare (pp. 283–285). W.
Roger Williams, Key, pp. 254–257.	Indian Games and Sports (pp. 286–288). W.
Roger Williams, Key, pp. 142–147.	Indians and News (pp. 292–293). W.
Roger Williams, Key, pp. 274–277.	Indian Mourning and Burial (pp. 294–295). W.

From this list it appears that there are at least eighty-four cases in which Dunton incorporated borrowed material in the Letters. Of these Whitmore noted thirty-three: eighteen from Roger Williams, six from Cotton Mather, three from Josselyn, two from Increase Mather, two from J. W., one from John Eliot, and one from Joshua Moody. To these we have added fifty-one passages, — twenty from Josselyn and thirty-one from various writers of characters; namely, fourteen from Overbury, seven from Fuller, four from Earle, three from Flecknoe, and three from the author of The Ladies Calling.

It may be suggested — indeed it has been suggested[1] — that "had this volume been issued in Dunton's life-time, he might have confessed his indebtedness." For two reasons this seems unlikely.

First, it is unlikely because of the principle which, seen in its extreme form, makes a novelist avoid footnotes. Dunton, to be sure, was not a novelist; he was not even able to achieve such approaches to the novel as were made by Addison and Defoe. Yet it seems clear that when an author, in copying such material as that which Dunton takes from Roger Williams, uses such pains as his to make the ideas appear

[1] By Whitmore, in his Introduction, p. xxiii.

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either to be original or to have been communicated to him by persons with whom he spoke in the course of his rambles, he is manifestly trying[1] to write a kind of work in which acknowledgments of indebtedness would be out of place.

A second and more tangible objection is that to make such acknowledgments appears not to have been Dunton's custom. For in at least two works that were published in his lifetime — the Life and Errors (1705) and Athenianism (1710) — Dunton borrows freely and without acknowledgment.

In the first part of his Athenianism (1710) Dunton prints as his own four poems[2] which had appeared in 1685 in Samuel Wesley's Maggots,[3] of which Dunton had written in 1705: "I once printed a Book, I remember, under the title of 'Maggots'; but it was written by a *Dignitary* in the Church of England."[4]

In his Life and Errors (1705) Dunton prints, without acknowledgment, not only many of the characters that appear in his Letters, but many others as well. Comfort Wilkins, Mrs. Green, the Widow Brick, Mr. Heath, Dr. Oakes, Dr. Bullivant, and Dunton's other Boston friends appear there, sometimes more briefly sketched than in the Letters, but still replete with phrases taken from earlier books of characters. And in addition there are a great many characters of Dunton's English acquaintances — printers, publishers, hack-writers, and so on — in which he borrows at least a phrase or two from such writers as Hall and Earle. The character of Major Hatley, placed

[1] Whether Dunton did this out of self-esteem and the desire to steal a reputation, or with the wish to soften formal exposition into something more entertaining, does not for the moment concern us. Probably his motives were mixed.

[2] "A King turn'd Thresher. By Mr. Dunton" (Athenianism, pp. 213–215; Maggots, pp. 94–96); "A Covetous old Fellow having taken Occasion to hang himself a little; another comes in, in the Nick, and cuts him down; but instead of thanking him for his Life, he accuses him for spoiling the Rope. — By Mr. Dunton" (Athenianism, p. 215; Maggots, pp. 68–70); "On the Bear-fac'd Lady. By Mr. Dunton" (Athenianism, pp. 218–220; Maggots, pp. 29–31); "The Innocent Fraud: Or, the Lyar in Mode and Figure. By Mr. Dunton" (Athenianism, pp. 221–222; Maggots, pp. 62-63).

[3] Maggots: / Or, / Poems / On / Several / Subjects, / Never before Handled. / By a Schollar. / London, / Printed for John Dunton, at the Sign / of the Black Raven, at the Corner of Princes / Street, near the Royal Exchange. 1685.

There is a copy in the Harvard University Library.

[4] Life and Errors, i. 187.

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beside one of Hall's types, will give a fair idea of the extent of the borrowing in the more fully developed portraits.[1]

JOSEPH HALL	DUNTON
The Valiant Man (1608)	Major Hatley
He is the master of himself, and subdues his passions to reason, and by this inward victory works his own peace.	He is the master of himself, and subdues his passions to reason; and by this inward victory, works his own peace. He is well skilled in Military Discipline; and, from being a Captain, is advanced to a Major. He lies ever close within himself, armed with wise resolution, and will not be discovered but by Death or Danger. "Piety never looks so bright as when it shines in Steel;" and Major Hatley holds it the noblest revenge that he *might hurt*, and *does not*. I dealt with this Military Stationer for six years, but left him, with flying colours, to trade with his honest Servant (Life and Errors, i. 255).
. . . He lies ever close within himself, armed with wise resolution, and will not be discovered but by death or danger.	
. . . and he holds it the noblest revenge, that he might hurt and doth not (Hall's Works, Oxford, 1837, vi. 94).	

Where does all this leave us? How does the discovery of these borrowings affect our knowledge of the persons characterized and our estimate of Dunton's Letters from New England?

It seems to me that Dunton's characters may be made to fall into three groups. First come a number of portraits in the course of which Dunton used a phrase or a sentence from some earlier writer of characters. Probably the phrase fitted as well as any original phrase would have fitted. If so the validity of the portrait is not affected. Next come those instances in which fairly well-known

[1] Among the earlier characters drawn on are Earle's "Grave Divine," which furnishes parts of the sketches of Mr. Spademan (pp. 140–141), Mr. Lobb (p. 175), Mr. Trail (p. 176); Earle's "Modest Man," which becomes Mr. Cleave (p. 228) and also furnishes a part of Mr. Samuel Hool (p. 255); and Earle's "Staid Man," parts of which go to make up Mr. Grantham (p. 246), Mr. Darby (p. 247), and Mr. Littlebury (p. 256). Bishop Hall's characters are also used: his "Humble Man" for parts of Mr. Merreal (p. 254) and Mr. Sheafe (p. 254), and his "Truly-Noble" man in Mr. Proctor (pp. 255–256) and in parts of Mr. Merreal (p. 254), Mr. Sheafe (p. 254), and Mr. Samuel Hool (p. 255). S. Malthus (p. 459), who published Dunton's Life and Errors, could hardly have been pleased to find on reading it that she was thought to combine the faults of Earle's "Detractor" and his "She Precise Hypocrite."

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persons like Mr. Epes, Dr. Bullivant, Mr. Heath, and others, are characterized almost wholly in the words of earlier writers. In these cases it is unsafe to apply the details of the portrait: we can be sure merely that the character was — or that Dunton thought him — a worthy merchant, a skilled physician, or whatever else; that is, we can apply the title, not the details. Finally come persons who are wholly characterized in the words of earlier writers, and of whom nothing is known except what Dunton tells us. Here it would seem that, in the words of Sir John Seeley, "history fades into mere literature."

Historically considered, Dunton's Letters from New England have suffered a good deal in the course of this examination. Indeed, an historian might almost say that they are not letters, that they are not from New England, and that they are not by John Dunton. But I wish to suggest, in conclusion, that the trouble is not that the book is a bad one, but that it has been wrongly catalogued. If we take it off the American History shelves — where it never belonged — and put it with English Fiction, we shall find, I think, that precisely those portions of it which were before the most absurd and deceptive are now the most significant.

Few phases of the transition in English literature from the seventeenth to the eighteenth century are more important or more difficult to trace than the beginnings of English prose fiction. These beginnings have to be sought in a great variety of documents, including fictitious voyages, histories, and letters, imaginary adventures of animals, allegories, visions, and many other devices, which, although they often contain fact, do not aim to be true.[1] Another matter vital to the transition is the development from the abstract character to the novel of character. It is well known that Addison and Steele, in the Tatler

[1] See E. C. Baldwin, Character Books of the Seventeenth Century in Relation to the Development of the Novel, Western Reserve Bulletin, October, 1900; H. S. Canby, The Short Story in English, New York, 1909, especially Chapters viii and ix; F. W. Chandler, The Literature of Roguery, Boston and New York, 1907, especially Chapter vii; Martha Pike Conant, The Oriental Tale in England in the Eighteenth Century, New York, 1908, especially Chapter iv; W. L. Cross, The Development of the English Novel, New York, 1899; Rudolf Furst, Die Vorläufer der Modernen Novelle im achtzehnten Jahrhundert, Halle, 1897; Charlotte Morgan, The Rise of the Novel of Manners, New York, 1911 (good bibliography); Sir Walter Raleigh, The English Novel, New York, 1904.

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and the Spectator, mark a half-way point in several phases of this transition. They used fictitious letters and diaries, and in particular they made great progress in modifying the old abstract character, which they felt to be stiff, vague, and repellently didactic. Accordingly, they gave their characters names, they made them speak, they even, by becoming Mr. Nestor Ironsides or Mr. Spectator, walked right into the page themselves and spoke with their characters. They supplied descriptive backgrounds, and indeed almost everything that a novel requires, except the plot. Consequently we say truly that they greatly improved the technique of characterization in prose fiction.

Did not John Dunton, very imperfectly and probably with motives very much mixed, do many of these things? He took abstract characters, named them, made them speak, spoke with them, went on picnics with them, and, in the case of Madam Brick, almost fell in love with one of them. His mistake was not in introducing so much fiction, but rather in not casting entirely loose from fact. Our mistake has been in keeping him on our shelves beside Sewall and Josselyn, instead of beside Ned Ward and Daniel Defoe.

Mr. ALBERT MATTHEWS made the following communication:

Efforts to reproduce the broken English of Indians were made as early as 1675;[1] an example of Negro English found its way into print in 1721;[2] and a letter in broken German was printed in a New York newspaper in 1747.[3] Words and terms peculiar to this country, or which had here acquired meanings different from those attached to them in England, were recorded both by native writers and by foreigners during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. It was

[1] Present State of New-England, With Respect to the Indian War, London, 1675, pp. 12–14. An interesting discussion on "Indian talk" will be found in our associate Professor Kittredge's Old Farmer and his Almanack, pp. 333–378.

[2] C. Mather, Angel of Bethesda, 1721, p. 134; "Some Account of what is said of Inoculating or Transplanting the Small Pox. By the Learned Dr. Emanuel Timonius, and Jacobus Pylarinus. With some Remarks thereon. To which are added, A Few Quæries in Answer to the Scruples of many about the Lawfulness of this Method. Published by Dr. Zabdiel Boylstone," 1721, p. 9. For these references I am indebted to Mr. Kittredge.

[3] New York Gazette, October 12, 1747 (New Jersey Archives, xii. 406–410).

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not, however, until 1781, that an attempt — meagre, but deliberate — was made to discuss Americanisms. In that year President Witherspoon of the College of New Jersey said that "about one hundred and fifty years ago" Greek and Latin were "better understood than they are at present;" and continued:

Since the period above mentioned, the modern, or as they are sometimes called, the northern languages, have been gradually polished, and each nation has manifested a zeal for, and an attention to, the purity and perfection of its own tongue. This has been the case, particularly, with respect to the French and English. The French language is, as nearly as I can guess, about fifty years before the English, in this respect; that is to say, it is so much longer since their men of letters applied themselves to the ascertaining, correcting and polishing of it. The English, however, has received great improvements within the last hundred years, and probably will continue to do so. . . .

To these reflections it may be added, that our situation in America is now, and in all probability will continue to be such, as to require peculiar attention upon this subject. The English language is spoken through all the United States. . . . Time and accident must determine what turn affairs will take in this respect in future, whether we shall continue to consider the language of Great-Britain as the pattern upon which we are to form ours; or whether, in this new empire, some centre of learning and politeness will not be found, which shall obtain influence and prescribe the rules of speech and writing to every other part.

While this point is yet unsettled, it has occurred to me to make some observations upon the present state of the English language in America, and to attempt a collection of some of the chief improprieties which prevail, and might be easily corrected. . . . Curiosity led me to make a collection of these, which, as soon as it became large, convinced me that they were of very different kinds, and therefore must be reduced to a considerable number of classes, in order to their being treated with critical justice.

Witherspoon then went on to say that he had made a division into eight classes, of which the first was "Americanisms, or ways of speaking peculiar to this country;" and under this head remarked:

1. The first class I call Americanisms, by which I understand an use of phrases or terms, or a construction of sentences, even among persons of rank and education, different from the use of the same terms or phrases, or the construction of similar sentences, in Great-Britain. It does not

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follow, from a man's using these, that he is ignorant, or his discourse upon the whole inelegant; nay, it does not follow in every case, that the terms or phrases used are worthless in themselves, but merely that they are of American and not of English growth. The word Americanism, which I have coined for the purpose, is exactly similar in its formation and signification to the word Scotticism. By the word Scotticism is understood any term or phrase, or indeed any thing in construction, pronunciation, or accentuation, that is peculiar to North-Britain.[1]

A generation went by before the subject again received systematic treatment, this time at the hands of John Pickering, whose "Vocabulary, or Collection of Words and Phrases which have been supposed to be peculiar to the United States of America" was first published in book form in 1816, though it had been printed the year before in the Memoirs of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences (III. 439–536).

But though Witherspoon was the first to write on the subject of Americanisms, yet he had been anticipated by one or two others so far as the mere suggestion of some such undertaking was concerned. Writing in 1809, John Adams said:

In travelling from Boston to Philadelphia, in 1774, 5, 6, and 7, I had several times amused myself, at Norwalk in Connecticut, with the very curious collection of birds and insects of American production made by Mr. Arnold; a collection which . . . made a deep impression upon me, . . .

When I was in Europe, in the years 1778 and 1779, in the commission to the King of France, with Dr. Franklin and Mr. Arthur Lee, I had opportunities to see the king's collections and many others, which increased my wishes that nature might be examined and studied in my own country, as it was in others.

In France, among the academicians, and other men of science and letters, I was frequently entertained with inquiries concerning the Philosophical Society of Philadelphia, and with eulogiums on the wisdom of that institution, and encomiums on some publications in their transactions. These conversations suggested to me the idea of such an establishment at Boston, where I knew there was as much love of science, and as many gentlemen who were capable of pursuing it, as in any other city of its size.

[1] The Druid, Works (1802), iv. 458–460.

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In 1779, I returned to Boston in the French frigate La Sensible, with the Chevalier de la Luzerne and M. Marbois. The Corporation of Harvard College gave a public dinner in honor of the French ambassador and his suite, and did me the honor of an invitation to dine with them. At table, in the Philosophy Chamber, I chanced to sit next to Dr. Cooper.[1] I entertained him during the whole of the time we were together, with an account of Arnold's collections, the collections I had seen in Europe, the compliments I had heard in France upon the Philosophical Society at Philadelphia, and concluded with proposing that the future legislature of Massachusetts should institute an academy of arts and sciences.

The doctor at first hesitated, thought it would be difficult to find members who would attend to it; . . . The doctor at length appeared better satisfied; and I entreated him to propagate the idea and the plan, as far and as soon as his discretion would justify. The doctor accordingly did diffuse the project so judiciously and effectually, that the first legislature under the new constitution adopted and established it by law.[2]

A statement made thirty years after the event can hardly be expected to be accurate in all details, but the above statement can be shown to be correct in its main features. Adams reached Boston on August 3, 1779, as appears from this notice in the Independent Chronicle of Monday, August 9:

Tuesday last arrived here a French frigate of 32 guns, from France, in which came passengers his Excellency the *Chevalier de la Luzerne*, Plenipotentiary from His Most Christian Majesty to the United States with his Secretary, &c., as also the Hon. *John Adams*, Esq; late a Commissioner from these States to the Court of France (p. 3/1).

And the dinner at the College was given on August 24:

On Tuesday, se'nnight, the Chevalier de la Luzerne, accompanied with M. de Valnais, Consul of France, M. de Marbois, . . . and a number of other gentlemen of distinction, both French and American, made a visit to Harvard-College, at the invitation of the President and Corporation. . . .

After amusing themselves among the rich variety of books reposited in the Library, the company were conducted into a large and elegant Philosophy room, where a very decent entertainment was provided;[3] . . .

[1] Rev. Samuel Cooper (H. C. 1743).

[2] Works, iv. 259–261 note.

[3] Independent Chronicle, September 2, 1779, p. 1.

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But in saying that "the first legislature under the new constitution adopted and established it" — that is, the American Academy of Arts and Sciences — "by law," Adams's memory was slightly at fault; and he probably confused the Constitution drawn up late in 1779 but rejected by the people, with the Constitution drawn up late in 1780 and ratified by the people. If Adams was correct in thinking that it was he himself who on August 24, 1779, suggested to Dr. Cooper the idea of founding such a society, then indeed did the latter "diffuse the project" with great rapidity; for the Act incorporating the society in question was read for the first time in the House on December 15, 1779, and was passed on May 4, 1780.[1] It is to be noted, however, that in the section of that Act wherein "the end and design of the institution of the said academy" are defined, nothing specific is said about the English language, though the final words of the section are: "in fine, to cultivate every art and science which may tend to advance the interest, honor, dignity and happiness of a free, independent and virtuous people." It is evident, however, that that particular subject had been brooding in Adams's mind, for in a letter written to the President of Congress (Samuel Huntington) from Amsterdam on September 5, 1780, he said:

Most of the nations of Europe have thought it necessary to establish by public authority institutions for fixing and improving their proper languages. I need not mention the academies in France, Spain, and Italy, their learned labors, nor their great success. But it is very remarkable, that although many learned and ingenious men in England have from age to age projected similar institutions[2] for correcting and improving the English tongue, yet the government have never found time to interpose in any manner; so that to this day there is no grammar nor dictionary extant of the English language which has the least public authority; and it is only very lately, that a tolerable dictionary has been published, even by a private person, and there is not yet a passable grammar enterprised by any individual.

The honor of forming the first public institution for refining, correcting, improving, and ascertaining the English language, I hope is reserved for congress; they have every motive that can possibly influence a public

[1] Massachusetts Province Laws, v. 1194–1196, 1369–1370.

[2] For references to a proposed academy in England, see the Nation, 1902, lxxiv. 287, 306, 365, 406, 425.

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the successive æras of its duration. And as LANGUAGE, is the foundation of science, and medium of communication among mankind, it demands our first attention, and ought to be cultivated with the greatest assiduity in every seminary of learning. The English language has been greatly improved in Britain within a century, but its highest perfection, with every other branch of human knowledge, is perhaps reserved for this LAND of light and freedom. As the people through this extensive country will speak English, their advantages for polishing their language will be great, and vastly superior to what the people in England ever enjoyed.

I beg leave to propose a plan for perfecting the English language in America, through every future period of its existence; viz. That a society for this purpose should be formed, consisting of members in each university and seminary, who shall be stiled, *Fellows of the American Society of Language*: That the society, when established, from time to time elect new members, and thereby be made perpetual. And that the society annually publish some observations upon the language, and from year to year, correct, enrich and refine it, until perfection stops their progress and ends their labour.

I conceive that such a society might easily be established, and that great advantages would thereby accrue to science, and consequently America would make swifter advances to the summit of learning. It is perhaps impossible for us to form an idea of the perfection, the beauty, the grandeur, and sublimity, to which our language may arrive in the progress of time, passing through the improving tongues of our rising posterity; whose aspiring minds, fired by our example, and ardour for glory, may far surpass all the sons of science who have shone in past ages, and may light up the world with new ideas bright as the sun.

America, 1774. AN AMERICAN.[1]

On behalf of Mr. EZRA H. BAKER, Mr. Matthews exhibited a volume that had formerly belonged to Edward Everett, and read the following statement, prepared from notes furnished by our associate Mr. William C. Lane and by Mr. Walter R. Spofford of the Harvard College Library:

The volume, which came from the sale of Dr. William Everett's library in 1911, is bound in leather, the leaves cut and gilded on the

[1] Royal American Magazine, January, 1774, i. 6–7. That number was advertised as "This Day Published" in the Boston Gazette of February 7, 1774, p. 3/2. The article was reprinted in the New Hampshire Gazette (Portsmouth) of April 22, 1774, p. 2/3, and very likely in other contemporary newspapers.

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[illegible] And as LANGUAGE is the [illegible] of communication among mankind, it [illegible] to be cultivated with the greatest [illegible]. The English language has [illegible] a century, but its highest [illegible] knowledge, is perhaps reserved for [illegible]. As the people through this [illegible] advantages for polishing their language [illegible] what the people in England ever [illegible] a plan for perfecting the English [illegible] period of its existence; viz. [illegible] consisting of members [illegible] shall be stiled, [illegible] established from [illegible] be made perpetual. [illegible] language, and from [illegible], until perfection stops their [illegible].

[illegible] a society might easily be established, [illegible] would thereby accrue to science, and [illegible] swifter advances to the summit of learning [illegible] for us to form an idea of the perfection, the [illegible] dignity, to which our language [illegible] through the improving tongue [illegible] aspiring minds, fired by our example, [illegible] surpass all the sons of science who have shone [illegible] up the world with new ideas bright as the sun.

[illegible] AN AMERICAN.[1]

On behalf of Mr. Ezra H. Baker, Mr. Matthews exhibited a volume that had formerly belonged to Edward [illegible], and read the following statement, prepared from notes furnished by our associate Mr. William C. Lane and Mr. Walter B. Spofford of the Harvard College Library:

The volume, which came from the sale of Dr. William [illegible] in 1911, is bound in leather, the leaves cut and [illegible]

[1] Royal American Magazine, January, 1774, i. 6–7. [illegible] "This Day Published" in the Boston Gazette of [illegible] 1774; [illegible] article was reprinted in the New Hampshire Gazette [illegible] 1774, p. 2, 3, and very likely in other contemporary newspapers.

Stoughton Hall. Holden Chapel. Hollis Hall. Harvard Hall. Massachusetts Hall.

THE EDIFICES OF THE UNIVERSITY AT CAMBRIDGE, MASS.

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edges, and measures 4¾ by 7¾ inches; has the words "University at Cambridge" printed on the back of the cover and the name "Paul Svinin" printed on the side of the cover; and contains the three following pamphlets: (1) "The Constitution of the University at Cambridge, with an Appendix. Cambridge: . . . 1812," 36 pages; (2) "Catalogus Universitatis Harvardianæ, MDCCCIX," 64 pages; (3) "The History of Cambridge. By Abiel Holmes, ... Boston. 1801," 40 pages.[1] Bound in, facing the title-page of the first pamphlet, is a water-color sketch of "The Edifices of the University at Cambridge, Mass.,"[2] reproduced on the opposite page. In the upper right-hand corner of this sketch is the name "J. A. Shaw." No doubt the artist was John Angier Shaw of the Class of 1811.[3] As Holworthy Hall does not appear, the sketch was doubtless made while Shaw was an undergraduate; and this notion is confirmed by the words which Edward Everett has written on the back: "Since this view was taken, there has been erected another building, to the east of Stoughton Hall; which does not come very well into view, from the Point of Sight from which this sketch was made."[4] On a fly leaf at the beginning of the volume is the inscription:

Mr. P. Svinin, as a small token of affectionate remembrance, from his sincere friend Edw. Everett.
Cambridge May 1812.

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[1] The third pamphlet is a reprint of Holmes's article in 1 Massachusetts Historical Collections, vii. 1–38.

[2] It is possible that something further was written underneath this inscription, as apparently the tops of letters are visible; but if so, the rest of the inscription was cut off by the binder.

[3] In his "Memorial Address read at the Funeral of John Angier Shaw, in the Meeting House of the First Congregational Society in Bridgewater, October 8, 1873," published in 1874, the Rev. Richard M. Hodges said:

In connection with education, I call to mind that Mr. Shaw had a nice perception of the beauty of art in its relation to architecture. The plan of the Episcopal Church in this town was the product of his pencil. And there is extant in Christ Church, in Cambridge, a picture drawn by him in his undergraduate days at college, giving a pleasing representation of the church edifice — noted for its symmetry — and the surroundings, as they appeared in the beginning of this century (p. 23).

[4] Other words were also written in this page, but have been erased. Attached to a fly leaf is a sheet (torn in two) containing notes, apparently in Everett's handwriting, on early New Englanders.

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There is nothing to show how the volume got back to America if, as seems probable, it was actually given to Svinin.

Edward Everett was a classmate of Shaw's, and in May, 1812, was a resident graduate studying divinity and living in the family of President Kirkland. In the following summer he delivered the Phi Beta Kappa poem, and in September was appointed Latin tutor; but in the autumn of 1813 he was settled in Boston over the Church in Brattle Square.[1]

Paul Petrovich Svinin, who was born in Russia (presumably at Moscow) in 1787, was a literary man and an artist, and founded a newspaper. In 1806 he entered the service of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and later visited England, Spain, and America. He was in Philadelphia in 1811–1813, and while in this country he met the exiled General Moreau, with whom he returned to Europe in 1813. As a result of his travels in this country, he wrote (in Russian) A Glance at the Republic of the United States of the American Provinces; and was also the author of several other books.[2] He returned to Russia in 1818 and died in 1839.

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[1] Cf. 1 Proceedings Massachusetts Historical Society, viii. 134; 2 Proceedings, xviii. 96; Harvard Graduates' Magazine, March, 1912, xx. 571, 572, 573, 574.

[2] The following works by Svinin are to be found in the Boston Athenæum, the Boston Public Library, and the Harvard College Library, the letters A, B, and H, indicating those libraries, respectively: (1) Sketches of Russia; Illustrated with Fifteen Engravings, London, 1814, B. The illustrations are by Svinin. (2) Quelques Détails sur le Général Moreau, et ses Derniers Moments; suivis d'une courte Notice Biographique, London, 1814, B. (3) Some Details concerning General Moreau, and his last Moments, Followed by a short Biographical Memoir, London, 1814, H. (4) Some Details concerning General Moreau, and his last Moments, Followed by a short Biographical Memoir, First American from the Second London Edition, Boston, 1814, B. (5) Some Details concerning General Moreau, and his last Moments, Followed by a short Biographical Memoir, To which is added, A Funeral Oration, Second American from the London edition, Boston, 1814, A, B, H. (6) Sketch of the Life of General Moreau: and the Details of his last Moments, To which is added, An Appendix, containing several interesting Letters, New York, 1814, A. (7) Description des Objets remarquables de St. Pétersbourg et de ses Environs (in Russian and French), St. Petersburg, 1816–1818, A. (8) Indicateur des Objets rares et précieux, qui se trouvent au Musée de Moscou, connu sous le nom d'Oroujeinaia Palata, St. Petersburg, 1826, H. He was also the author of Malerische Reise, but no copy is in the above libraries.

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APRIL MEETING, 1912

A STATED MEETING of the Society was held at Gore Hall, Cambridge, on Friday, 26 April, 1912, at eight o'clock in the evening, the President, HENRY LEFAVOUR, LL.D., in the chair.

The Records of the last Stated Meeting were read and approved.

The CORRESPONDING SECRETARY reported that a letter had been received from the Hon. ROBERT GRANT, accepting Resident Membership.

Mr. BARRETT WENDELL of Boston was elected a Resident Member.

The PRESIDENT appointed the following Committees in anticipation of the Annual Meeting:

To nominate candidates for the several offices, — Mr. HENRY ERNEST WOODS, Dr. CHARLES PICKERING PUTNAM, and Dr. CHARLES MONTRAVILLE GREEN.

To examine the Treasurer's accounts, — Messrs. JOHN WHITTEMORE FARWELL and WILLIAM LOWELL PUTNAM.

Mr. WILLIAM C. LANE called attention to some of the interesting objects on view, among them the Louisburg Cross, recently mounted in its present position at the charge of the Society of Colonial Wars; the sword worn by Lieutenant-Governor Spencer Phips; three mahogany chairs which formerly belonged to Governor Christopher Gore; a water-color view from the north window of Hollis Hall about 1798, bearing the legend "W. J. del.;" and the portraits by Sir Peter Lely of Sir Matthew and Lady Holworthy.

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Mr. ALBERT MATTHEWS read the following paper:

A GHOST-BOOK

Twenty-six years ago Professor Skeat devoted his presidential address to the Philological Society chiefly to an entertaining "Report upon 'Ghost-words,' or Words which have no real Existence;" and, in reference to a criticism made upon Sir (then Dr.) James Murray for omitting a certain such word from the Oxford Dictionary, uttered this vigorous protest:

> It was rightly and wisely rejected by our Editor on the ground that there is no such word, the alleged form being due to a complete mistake. There can be no doubt that words of this character ought to be excluded; and not only so, but we should jealously guard against all chances of giving any undeserved record of words which had never any real existence, being mere coinages due to the blunders of printers or scribes, or to the perfervid imaginations of ignorant or blundering editors.[1]

As there are ghost-words, so too are there, if I may be allowed the term, "ghost-books" — books that exist only through the errors of authors, editors, bibliographers, publishers, and printers. Let me invite your attention to such a ghost-book — the alleged London edition in 1669 of Nathaniel Morton's New England's Memorial.

There are few early American books about which we have so much information as this one, of which no less than eight editions have been published.[2] Exactly when it occurred to Morton to compile his Memorial we do not know, but in his address "To the Christian Reader" he says:

[1] Transactions of the Philological Society, 1885–7, ii. 351.

[2] (1) Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1669; (2) Boston, 1721, with "A Supplement to New-Englands Memorial. By another Hand," namely, Josiah Cotton; (3) Newport, Rhode Island, 1772, reprinted from the 1721 Boston edition; (4) Plymouth, 1826, "Reprinted by Allen Danforth;" (5) Boston, 1826, "Fifth Edition," edited by John Davis; (6) Boston, 1855, "Sixth Edition," published, together with other matter, by the Congregational Board of Publication; (7) Boston, 1903, Club of Odd Volumes, with an introduction by Arthur Lord; (8) London, [1910], published, together with other matter, in "Everyman's Library" under the title of Chronicles of the Pilgrim Fathers, with an introduction by John Masefield. Mr. Arthur Lord owns two copies of the 1826 Boston edition: one having a facsimile of "The Wine Hills" map dated 1826; the other having a facsimile of "The White Hills" map undated, but obviously later than 1826.

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I Have for some length of time looked upon it as a duty incumbent, especially on the immediate Successors of those that have had so large Experience of those many memorable and signall Demonstrations of Gods goodness, viz. *The first Beginners of this Plantation in* New-England, *to commit to writing his gracious dispensations on that behalf.*

There are scattered references to the work for at least two years before its publication. Perhaps the earliest of these is the following, which occurs in the Court Orders of the Plymouth Colony under date of July 2, 1667:

It was concluded by the Court that a proposition shalbe made from the Court to the seuerall Townshipes of this Jurisdiction in reference to a Collection or Contribution to be made towards the defraying of the charge of the printing of the history of Gods dispensations towards N E: in Generall in speciall towards this Collonie.[1]

On March 5, 1667–68, —

It is ordered by the Court, that wheras a certaine Indian appertaining to our jurisdiction is now in hold att Boston for matter of fact, and that there is probabillitie of a tender of some land for his ransome from being sent to the Barbadoes, that incase the said land be tendered to acceptance, that it shalbe improued and expended for the defraying of the charge of printing of the booke intitled New Englands Memoriall.[2]

On June 3, 1668, we learn that —

Att this Court, the sume of twenty pound in countrey pay was ordered to be improued by the Treasurer for and towards the printing of the booke intitled New Englands Memoriall; and it was likewise recomended to the seuerall townes of this jurisdiction by theire deputies to make a free and voulentary contribution in mony for and towards the procuring of paper for the printing of the said booke.[3]

Shortly after this — on July 7, 1668 — Constant Southworth was authorized to make an arrangement with the printers:

In reference vnto the printing of the booke intitled New Englands Memoriall, the Court haue ordered, that the Treasurer shall indent with the printer for the printing therof; and to improue that which is or shalbe contributed thervnto with the sume of twenty pounds, ordered

[1] Plymouth Colony Records, xi. 220.
[2] iv. 173. [3] iv. 186.

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by the Court to that end, and the sume of fiue pound more if hee shall see cause, the said twenty fiue pound to be out of the countreyes stocke; and to indent with Mr Green to print it, if hee will doe it as cheap as the other;[1] and for the number of coppyes, to doe as hee shall see cause.[2]

On July 5, 1669, —

This Court ordered, that the Treasurer, in the behalfe of the countrey, is to make good a barrell of marchantable beefe to Mr Green, the printer att Cambridge, which is to satisfy what is behind vnpayed for, and towards the printing of the booke called New Englands Memoriall, which barrell of beife is somthing more then is due by bargaine, but the Court is willing to allow it on consideration of his complaint of a hard bargaine about the printing of the booke aforsaid.[3]

Joseph Browne, who had graduated from Harvard College in 1666, compiled an almanac which was published in 1669, the title being in part as follows:

1669. / An / Almanack / of / Cœlestiall Motions / For the Year of the Christian Æra, / 1669. / . . . / By J. B. Philomathemat. / . . . / Cambridge: / Printed by S. G. and M. J. 1669.

At the bottom of the last page of this almanac occurs this advertisement:

Reader, In a few weeks will come forth to publick view, the History of *New-England,* Entituled, *New-Englands Memoriall, or, A brief Relation of the most Remarkable Passages of the Providence of God manifested to the Planters of* N.E. *in* America, *&c. By* Nathaniel Morton.[4]

The verso of the second leaf of Morton's book contains an address "To the Reader," signed by the Rev. John Higginson and the Rev. Thomas Thacher, which is dated "March 26. 1669."

[1] Marmaduke Johnson. Referring to the almanac for 1669 and Morton's book, both of which were "Printed for S. G. and M. J.," Mr. George E. Littlefield says: "As these are the first two books upon which this imprint appears upon the title-page since Johnson had opened his own printing office, it is very evident that Green and Johnson had not been caught napping by the Plymouth Treasurer, but had ceased competition and formed a master-printer's union" (Early Massachusetts Press, Club of Odd Volumes, 1907, i. 255).

[2] Plymouth Colony Records, iv. 189.

[3] v. 25.

[4] Taken from a copy of the almanac in the American Antiquarian Society. The advertisement is also quoted by Littlefield: see note 1, above.

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The title is a long one, being in part as follows:

New-Englands / Memoriall: / or, / A brief Relation of the most Memorable and Remarkable / Passages of the Providence of God, manifested to the / Planters / of / New-England in America; / With special Reference to the first Colony thereof, Called / New-Plimouth. / . . . / Published for the Use and Benefit of the present and future Generations, / By Nathaniel Morton, / Secretary to the Court for the Jurisdiction of New-Plimouth. / . . . Cambridge: / Printed by S. G. and M. J. for John Usher of Boston. 1669.

Samuel Gorton was aggrieved by Morton's "scurrilous pamphlet," and addressed to the author a letter dated "*Warwick* June 30th 1669" which thus begins:

I Vnderstand that you haue lately put forth a Booke of records, whether of Church or State I know not, perticuler or vniuersall, but this I know that I am uniustly inrouled because I was neuer free nor member incorporate in your body or any of your territories, Therfore I may not refraine to make a short returne only as it concernes my selfe.[1]

And in a letter to John Winthrop, Jr., dated "Providence, Aug. 19, 1669 (so calld)," Roger Williams said:

S^r^, since I see you I read Mortons Memorialls, & reejoic at ye encomiums vpon yor father & other precious worthies, though I be a reprobate, *contemptâ vitior algâ*.[2]

We thus have a detailed history of the book from July 2, 1667, to August 19, 1669. The first allusion to it in a modern bibliographical work known to me occurs in 1824, when it was entered in Dr. Robert Watt's Bibliotheca Britannica as follows:

MORTON, NATHANIEL. — New England's Memorial; or a brief Relation of the most Memorable and Remarkable Passages of the Providence of God, manifested to the Planters in New England, in America. Camb. 1669, 4to.[3]

It will be observed that Watt gives the place of publication merely as "Camb.," leaving it uncertain whether the English or the New English Cambridge is meant.

[1] P. Force's Tracts and Other Papers (1846), vol. iv. no. 7, pp. 3, 17. Gorton's letter is referred to, but not quoted, in Mr. Lord's Introduction (p. 16).

[2] 5 Massachusetts Historical Collections, i. 415.

[3] ii. 686*d*.

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In the next extract, we are brought face to face with our ghost-book — the alleged London edition of 1669. In or before 1831 Lowndes made this entry:

MORTON, Nathaniel. New England's Memoriall. London, 1669. 4to.

Nassau, pt. ii. 187, 11s.[1]

The reference to the Nassau Catalogue might naturally lead to the conclusion that London was there given as the place of publication; but such is not the case, for in that Catalogue the entry reads:

Quarto.

187 Morton's New-England's Memoriall, — 1669[2]

In 1832 Obadiah Rich described a copy of the first edition of Morton's book, correctly stating that it was printed in 1669 at "*Cambridge, N.E.*;" but in a note he said:

Reprinted in London in the same year, and in Boston in 1721, in 12mo: other editions have been printed in America; the last and best in 1826, under the editorship of the Honorable, the worthy, and the learned, Judge Davis, of Boston.[3]

[1] Bibliographer's Manual of English Literature, iii. 1303. For a discussion of the date of this extract, see p. 295 note 1, below.

In 1867 Charles Leclerc, describing a copy of Judge Davis's edition of Morton's book, added this note:

LOWNDES' dans son *Manual*, indique la première édition comme étant imprimée à Londres; il doit y avoir certainement erreur, car elle a bien été exécutée à Cambridge dans la Nouvelle Angleterre (Cf. TERNAUX). Maintenant il y aurait-il eu deux éditions différentes sous la même date? ou bien aurait-on fait un titre pour des ex. envoyés à Londres? (Bibliotheca Americana, Paris, pp. 245–246).

This note was repeated by Leclerc in the 1878 edition of his Bibliotheca Americana, Paris, p. 256. Leclerc's reference is to H. Ternaux, Bibliothèque Américaine, Paris, 1837, lot 868, p. 148, where Morton's book is stated to have been printed at "*Cambridge in New-England.* 1669."

[2] Catalogue of the Choice, Curious, and Extensive Library of the late George Nassau, Esq., Part the Second, p. 9. In a copy of the Nassau Catalogue in the Harvard College Library (B1658.1), bought of Thomas Rodd in 1841, the name "Taylor" is written in ink against lot 187.

[3] Catalogue of Books, relating principally to America, arranged under the years in which they were printed, London, lot 349*, p. 94. In 1844 Rich listed a copy of Judge Davis's edition of Morton's book, quoted a passage describing the first five editions from the North American Review for July, 1827, XXV. 207, and added: "The first edition was reprinted in the same year [1669] in London, making apparently *six editions*" (Bibliotheca Americana Nova, London, ii. 181–

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In 1861 Lowndes's work was issued in a "New Edition, Revised, Corrected and Enlarged by Henry G. Bohn." The brief entry of two lines in the edition of 1834 is in the edition of 1861 thus amplified:

MORTON, Nathaniel. New England's Memoriall; being the History of Plymouth Colony to 1668. Lond. 1669, 4to.

Nassau, pt. ii. 187, 11s. — Second edition, with Supplement by Cotton. Boston, 1721, 12mo. Heber, pt. ii. 5s. 6d. — Third edition. Newport, 1722,[1] 12mo. — Fourth edition, Plymouth, Mass. 1826. — Fifth edition, re-written by Judge Davis. Boston, U. S. 1826, 8vo. with a map.[2]

Though long, the above entry is given in full because it records one unknown edition — the ghost-book — and four subsequent editions, each of the four carefully numbered, showing that the alleged London edition of 1669 was regarded as the first edition. The surprising result is that the edition published in 1669 by Green and Johnson at Cambridge, New England, is absolutely ignored.

In his "Congregationalism of the last Three Centuries, as seen in its Literature," published in 1880, the Rev. Dr. Henry M. Dexter wrote: "1669. N. Morton. — New Englands Memoriall: or, A brief Relation . . . *Cambridge*, 4°, pp. xii, 198, x. [Lowndes says there was an edition at London, in 1669; . . .]" (Appendix, p. 94).

In his Introduction to the facsimile reprint of Morton's book by the Club of Odd Volumes in 1903, our associate Mr. Arthur Lord says:

The first edition was published, as before stated, in 1669, at Cambridge. In the 'Bibliographer's Manual of English Literature,' by William Thomas Lowndes, there is a reference to an edition of the 'New-Englands Memoriall,' by Nathaniel Morton, printed at London, 1669, and which was sold at the sale of the library of George Richard Savage Nassau, in 1824, for eleven shillings. No copy of that edition is now known to

182). In an advertisement appended to his Bibliotheca Americana Vetus (dated February 1, 1846), Rich gave the following item, saying nothing about the alleged London edition: "1669 Morton: New England's Memorial 4to. *Cambridge*" (p. 12). Rich's statement was evidently based on Lowndes: see p. 295 note 1, below. In 1870 Henry Stevens, describing a copy of the 1721 Boston edition, said: "*The second edition, imperfect, the title and many leaves gone, but a good deal of good reading left*" (Bibliotheca Historica, London, p. 120).

[1] The date "1722" for the Newport edition is an error in Lowndes for "1772."

[2] Bibliographer's Manual, part vi. p. 1620. This edition of Lowndes was published in several volumes at intervals between 1857 and 1864. In it the sixth edition of Morton's book is omitted, though that had been published in 1855.

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exist, and it is not probable that an edition was ever printed in London (p. 14).

In the "Catalogue of Books by English Authors who lived before the Year 1700, forming a part of the Library of Robert Hoe," New York, 1903, we read:

MORTON, NATHANIEL. — New-Englands Memoriall: . . . Cambridge: Printed by S. G. and M. J. for John Usher of Boston. 1669. . . .

First American edition, published in the same year as the first English edition.[1]

Here, it will be observed, we find not only the statement that there was an English edition, but the further statement that that alleged edition was "the first English edition" — implying that there may have been subsequent English editions. The above Catalogue was compiled by Mr. James Osborne Wright, assisted by Miss Carolyn Shipman. A letter addressed to Mr. Wright brought so interesting a reply that I give it in part. Under date of March 11, 1912, he says:

In 1902, at my request, the late Robert Hoe went into certain details relative to the Morton, during his annual European trip; and reported that he had convinced himself that there was an English edition, the same year as the American. I had previously — at intervals — discussed this matter with Geo. H. Moore and long ago with John Hammond Trumbull, but without coming to any positive conclusion. I attribute the original error (if so proved) to the first English description, assuming that there was only one Cambridge. . . . I could not help the Club of Odd Volumes when the reprint was made, and I regret to say that I cannot help you now. Mr. Hoe elected to believe in an English edition, and demurred at my using his catalogue for argument.[2]

I find myself unable to agree with Mr. Wright in attributing "the original error (if so proved) to the first English description, assuming that there was only one Cambridge." By "the first English descrip-

[1] iii. 206. The statement is repeated in the Catalogue of the Library of Robert Hoe, part ii. p. 364, lot 2394. This Catalogue is without date, but the sale took place January 15, 1912.

[2] Mr. Wright also says: "There are many things in the line of bibliography that may never be proven, and above all the absurdity of considering that errors in typography *in the time of hand presses*, proved a first edition. The contrary is the more logical conclusion. The printer's devil, and the muscular but uneducated pressman, made most of the typographical errors, after certain types had been lifted by a too adhesive roller."

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tion," I understand Mr. Wright to mean that of Watt in 1824, who gave "Camb." as the place of publication, without specifying which of the two Cambridges was meant. Watt's description is perfectly correct, so far as it goes; and nowhere have I met with the statement, unless Watt's description is to be regarded as such, that there was an edition published in 1669 at Cambridge, England. Nor have I ever seen Watt's description referred to in any printed discussion of Morton's book. The "original error (if so proved)," as it seems to me, was the statement that there was a London edition in 1669. As the matter now stands, it is clear that the authority for that alleged edition rests solely on Rich and Lowndes. But Rich evidently had never seen a copy of the alleged London edition, and it has been shown that Lowndes completely ignored the edition that we know with certainty was published in 1669 at Cambridge, New England; and it has further been shown that the Nassau Catalogue, referred to by Lowndes, gives no place of publication, though it does give the date. A reasonable conclusion is that Lowndes had never seen a copy of the 1669 edition, that he took the date from the Nassau Catalogue, that he did not know where it was published, and that by mistake he gave London instead of our Cambridge as the place.

A copy of the 1669 edition of Morton's book, sold at the Allis sale on March 26, 1912, was thus described:

"THE EXTREMELY RARE FIRST AMERICAN EDITION published the same as the first English Edition, and of which not over three or four perfect copies are known." [1]

The words "published the same as" are obviously intended to be "published in the same year as." The words "of which not over three or four perfect copies are known" refer to the alleged English edition, and on my challenging this statement, the Anderson Auction Company courteously replied that "there never was any first English edition," and that "perhaps our cataloguer, in the hurry of his work (for the Allis Catalogue was prepared under great pressure), should not have said 'of which not over three or four copies are known,' but should have said 'but few perfect copies are known.'" [2]

[1] Library of Mr. William W. Allis, lot 609, p. 92.

[2] In the Griswold Catalogue is the following statement:

Concerning the extreme rarety of this work it will be sufficient to remark that this book is wanting in nearly all the extensive libraries in this country. It

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A copy of the 1669 edition of Morton's book, advertised to be sold at the Moffat sale on May 24, 1912, is thus described:

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is not in the Brinley collection. Indeed, we know of but three copies in the United States (Gems from the Library of a Bibliomaniac, 1878, p. 44).

As a matter of fact, the Brinley collection contained two copies of Morton's book (Nos. 827 and 8664). About the same time Trumbull declared that "No American collector need to be informed that the original edition of Morton's Memorial — one of the corner-stones of New England history — is EXCESSIVELY RARE." (Brinley Catalogue, p. 111. The title-page of Part I is dated 1878, but the preface is dated January 1, 1879.) In 1880 Sabin said: "Concerning the extreme rarity of the first edition of this important work, it will be sufficient to remark, that we know of but three perfect copies in the United States" (Dictionary of Books relating to America, xii. 423–424). Sabin's statement is repeated, either with or without indicating its source, in the Deane Catalogue, 1898, p. 233; in the McKee Catalogue, 1902, p. 864; and in the French and Chubbock Catalogue, 1904, p. 152. Let us examine these statements.

Copies of the 1669 edition are in the following libraries and institutions: American Antiquarian Society (imperfect); Boston Public Library (imperfect); British Museum (two copies); John Carter Brown Library (two copies); Library of Congress; Essex Institute; Harvard College Library (lacks leaf containing pp. 107–108); Long Island Historical Society (title-page imperfect); New York Historical Society; New York Public Library; Pequot Library; Dr. Williams's Library, London; and Yale University Library.

In addition to these fifteen copies, the following gentlemen own copies: Mr. Edward Everett Ayer of Chicago; Mr. Frederick L. Gay of Brookline; Mr. Frederic R. Halsey of New York; Mr. Henry E. Huntington of New York (formerly the Church copy); Mr. George E. Littlefield of Boston; and Mr. Arthur Lord (imperfect, formerly owned by J. Wingate Thornton, being the copy that was used in the preparation of the sixth edition published at Boston in 1855). In a "Catalogue of Books, Manuscripts, & Autograph Letters, recently added to the stock of T. Rodd," London, not dated, but printed in 1836 or 1837, a copy was priced at ten shillings (p. 1); in 1837 a copy was listed by H. Ternaux in his Bibliothèque Américaine, Paris, lot 868, p. 148; in 1887 Hazlitt described a copy (Bibliographical Collections and Notes, Third Series, p. 165); in 1895 Justin Winsor stated (2 Proceedings Massachusetts Historical Society, x. 334) that Edward J. Young owned a copy, though where this now is I have been unable to ascertain; and a copy was owned by the late Levi Z. Leiter (Leiter Library, 1907, pp. 149–156).

Turning to auction sales, we find that no fewer than twenty-one copies have been sold during the past ninety years. The following list gives the year of the sale, the name of the sale, the number of the lot, and an occasional remark:

1824 Nassau 187
1859 Crowninshield 723 (Judge John Davis's copy: imperfect)
1862 Puttick & Simpson 1010 (bound by Bedford)
1878 Griswold 304 (bound by Bedford)
1879 Brinley 827
1883 Cooke 1761

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A fine clean copy of the extremely rare first edition printed at Cambridge, and which must not be confounded with the London Edition of

1884 Murphy 1728 (bound by Bedford)
1884 Murphy 1729
1889 Barlow 1719 (bound by Bedford)
1891 Ives 720 (bound by Bedford)
1893 Brinley 8664 (imperfect)
1893 Simon 177
1896 Sotheby 657
1898 Deane 2503 (John Farmer's copy)
1898 Deane 2504 (imperfect)
1902 Lefferts 224 (John Evelyn's copy)
1902 McKee 4579 (Deane copy)
1904 French and Chubbock 1341
1912 Hoe 2394 (John Evelyn's copy)
1912 Allis 609
1912 Moffat 435 (Brinley copy)

How many different copies these twenty-one sales represent, it would doubtless be impossible to determine with certainty. But enough has been said to show that Sabin's statement, though it may have been substantially correct when originally made in 1878, long ago ceased to be in accordance with the facts, and ought not again to be repeated.

It may be pointed out, however, that though there are plenty of copies of the 1669 Cambridge edition, yet several either lack the title-page or have defective title-pages; and it is by no means impossible that some of the errors found in catalogues are due to this cause. Thus, the imperfect Deane copy (lot 2504) is described in the catalogue of the Deane sale (1898, part ii. p. 233) as printed at "Boston, 1669."

Finally, it should always be remembered that absolute accuracy is difficult of attainment in any piece of bibliographical work and is hardly to be looked for in book catalogues and sale catalogues, which are so often compiled in haste. Thus, one of the Murphy copies (lot 1728) is described in the Murphy Catalogue (1884, p. 244) as "*Printed by S. F. and M. F., for John Usher of Boston*, 1669;" while the other copy (lot 1729) is described as "8vo." Unquestionably "S. F.," "M. F.," and "8vo," are errors for "S. G.," "M. J.," and "4to," respectively. But the most remarkable cataloguer's error I have noted in connection with Morton's book is the following item from the "Catalogue of Books relating to America, in the Collection of Colonel Aspinwall, Consul of the United States of America at London," London, p. 12:

177. MORTON'S New England's Memoriall. sm. 4to. cf. *Cam*bridge. n. ed. 1667.

The Aspinwall Catalogue is not dated, but must have been published in or soon after 1832, for it contains a reference to "*the excellent little catalogue of American books published before* 1700 *which has recently emanated from the accurate and indefatigable biographical* [error for bibliographical] *pen of the Proprietor's friend and countryman, O. Rich, Esq. of London*" — and Rich's Catalogue (see p. 272, above) was published in 1832. The Boston Public Library (G. 352.30) owns a

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the same year. This was the Brinley Copy. . . . It was Reprinted *London 1669, Boston 1771, Newpoort 1772, Plymouth 1826, Boston 1826, Boston 1855.*[1]

But it is time to return to Morton's own day and to adduce four pieces of evidence of which three have hitherto, so far as I am aware, escaped the attention of bibliographers. In "A Catalogue of Books Printed and Published at *London* in Easter Term, 1670" — that is, in May, 1670 — occurs the following:

MISCELLANIES.

New England's Memorial, Or A brief Relation of the most memorable and remarkable Passages of the Providence of God manifested to the Planters of *New England* in *America*; with special reference to the first Colony thereof, called *New Plymouth.* By Nath. Morton. In Quarto. Price, bound, 4s. Printed for Richard Chiswell at the Two Angells and Crown in *Little Britain.*[2]

At first glance this advertisement might seem to give support to the notion of an English edition, but such a conclusion would be hasty in the extreme. The words "Printed for Richard Chiswell" do not necessarily mean that the book was actually printed in London, all they indicate being that Chiswell was the London agent for Usher's publications.[3]

The second piece of evidence is an extract, already known, from a

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manuscript "Catalogue of Books, Manuscripts, Maps, Charts, Plans, Views &c Relating to America, Belonging to Col. Thomas Aspinwall." In this catalogue, which was compiled by Mr. James O. Wright and by him given to the Public Library on April 8, 1890, the date is correctly given as "1669."

[1] Valuable American Historical Library of the late Thomas J. Moffat, Esq. and from other Sources, lot 435, pp. 66–67.

[2] E. Arber, Term Catalogues (1903), i. 38.

[3] A notice of Chiswell will be found in the Dictionary of National Biography. In a letter to Increase Mather dated February 16, 1676–7, Chiswell says: "I rec^{d} yours of July 19th, & have in Mr Vsher's Cask p^{r} Anderson, in the Ship Blessing, sent you all the books you wrote for, . . . I have sent a few books to Mr Vsher without order, which I put in to fill up the Cask" (4 Massachusetts Historical Collections, viii. 575–577). This is corroborative evidence, were any needed, that Chiswell and Usher had business relations with one another. In 1676 Chiswell reprinted in London "according to the Original Copy Printed in New-England" Mather's Brief History of the War with the Indians in New-England.

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letter written to the Rev. Dr. John Beale by John Collins under date of August 20, 1672:

> Upon your mentioning of New England I have this to say. . . . there is a 4to book, printed in New England, entitled, New-England's Memorial, by William Morton,[1] being a history or journal of the settlement and transactions in that colony.[2]

This of course merely proves that Collins knew of the edition published at our Cambridge.

The third piece of evidence requires a brief explanation. In 1672 was published "The General Laws and Liberties of the Massachusets Colony," which bore the following imprint: "Cambridge / Printed by Samuel Green, for John Usher of Boston. / 1672." A volume of Massachusetts Laws was issued in 1675 with a title exactly corresponding to the title of the 1672 edition except that the imprint of the 1675 volume reads: "Cambridge in New-England, / Printed by Samuel Green, for John Usher of Boston, and to be sold by / Richard Chiswel, at the Rose and Crown in St. Paul's Churchyard, / London, 1675." This 1675 volume was advertised in "A Catalogue of Books Continued, Printed and Published at *London* in *Easter* Term, 1675. Licensed *May* 10. 1675. Roger L'Estrange," as follows:

LAW.

The General Laws and Liberties of the *Massachusets* Colony in *New England.* Revised, and Reprinted, by Order of the General Court holden at *Boston.* In Folio. Price, bound, 6s. Sold by R. Chiswell at the Rose and Crown in St. *Paul's* Churchyard.[3]

A full discussion of the differences and similarities between the 1672 edition and the 1675 volume of the Massachusetts Laws need not be

[1] Collins's mistake with regard to Morton's christian name is not surprising. Once in the title-page and at least three times in the text (pp. 216, 228, 232) of George Keith's Presbyterian and Independent Visible Churches in New-England, And else-where, Brought to the Test, published at Philadelphia in 1689, Nathaniel Morton's name is transmogrified into "Samuel Norton."

[2] S. J. Rigaud's Correspondence of Scientific Men of the Seventeeth Century (1841), i. 202–203. A notice of John Collins (1625–1683), who had a varied and interesting career, will be found in the Dictionary of National Biography. Collins's letter is quoted in 1 Proceedings Massachusetts Historical Society, vi. 427, and in Mr. Lord's Introduction (p. 14).

[3] Arber, Term Catalogues, i. 206.

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entered into here, it being sufficient to point out in this place that the 1675 volume contains at the end a leaf, giving the titles of twenty-eight works which Chiswell had for sale. This advertisement, which is our fourth and final piece of evidence, begins as follows:

Sold also by *Richard Chiswel,*

New-England's Memorial; or a Relation of the most memorable and Remarkable Passages of the Providence of God manifested to the Planters of *New-England* in *America,* with special Reference to the Colony of *New-Plimouth.* By *Nathanael Morton,* Secretary to the Court for the Jurisdiction of *New-Plimouth*; in *quarto.*

God's Call to his People to turn unto Him, together with his Promise to turn unto them; opened and applied in two Sermons at two publick Fasting-days appointed by Authority. By *John Davenport,* Pastor of a Church of Christ at *Boston* in *New-England*; in *quarto.*[1]

Both printed at Cambridge *in New-England.*

It is of course conceivable that editions of Morton's book were printed in 1669 at our Cambridge, at the English Cambridge, and at London; but in the absence of one iota of proof in support of such a notion, it may be dismissed as preposterous. Could the fact be proved, then indeed Sydney Smith's famous question, "Who reads an American book?" would have had no point in 1669. It is also conceivable

[1] Speaking of the Rev. John Davenport's Election Sermon of 1669, our associate Mr. Lindsay Swift wrote in 1904:

Certainly it is not so good a piece of work as Davenport's Gods Call to His People, printed the year before at Cambridge by Samuel Green and Marmaduke Johnson for John Usher in Boston, and entered, by the way, in Arber's Term Catalogues (i. 35) as also printed in London in May, 1670 (Publications of this Society, x. 3).

My friend Mr. Swift will not, I feel sure, consider me finical — for bibliography is nothing if not a close attention to the minutest details — when I take exception to his statement that the entry in Arber indicates that Davenport's sermon was also *printed* in London. That entry describes the book as "Printed for R. Chiswell at the Two Angels and Crown in *Little Britain,*" and merely indicates that Chiswell had the book for sale in London. The advertisement quoted in the text of the present paper (on this page) proves that Chiswell in 1675 was selling copies of the Cambridge edition. Arber says that "A few words and phrases in this Bibliography require special attention: . . . *To print, Printer = To publish, Publisher*" (Term Catalogues, vol. i. p. xiii).

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that Chiswell printed at London in 1669[1] an edition of Morton's book, which had gone off so well that all copies were exhausted within six years; but such a notion is fantastic, and the above advertisement is proof positive that the copies of Morton's book which Chiswell was selling in 1675 were printed at our Cambridge.

I am well aware of the absurdity — an absurdity so often indulged in by the so-called Baconians — of assuming that because no copy of a certain book is now extant, therefore the book could not have been printed. But the evidence here presented conclusively proves (1) that Morton's New England's Memorial was in preparation for at least two years; (2) that it was printed at our Cambridge in the spring or early summer of 1669; (3) that in May, 1670, it was advertised in London as "Printed for Richard Chiswell;" (4) that in August, 1672, an Englishman spoke of it as "printed in New England;" and (5) that in 1675 Chiswell himself specifically stated that the copies of the book he then had for sale were "printed at Cambridge in New-England." In the face of this evidence it is surely idle to talk of an edition published at the English Cambridge[2] in 1669 and of another edition published at London in 1669; and it is to be hoped that until a copy of the alleged London edition of 1669 actually turns up, our ghost-book will cease to put in an appearance even in sale catalogues.

Mr. GEORGE L. KITTREDGE read the following paper:

FURTHER NOTES ON COTTON MATHER AND THE ROYAL SOCIETY

In a recent paper on Cotton Mather's Election into the Royal Society, I ventured to suggest that the suspicion cast upon the validity of Mather's F.R.S. in his own day was in some manner connected with the famous inoculation controversy of 1721 and 1722.[3]

[1] Attention should be called to the fact that Chiswell did not advertise Morton's book until May, 1670 — thus allowing ample time for the copies printed at our Cambridge in 1669 to reach England.

[2] Morton's book is not listed in Robert Bowes's Catalogue of Cambridge Books (1894), though that work "is only a bookseller's catalogue, not a Bibliography, and it therefore contains only the books we [Macmillan & Bowes] actually possess" (p. v). Were *any* American books printed in the seventeenth century at Cambridge, England?

[3] Pp. 102–107, above.

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Reasons for that view are mentioned in my paper. It is now possible to bring forward others which suffice to raise the suggestion to the rank of an established fact.

So far as we know, the first person to impugn the genuineness of Mather's claim to be a Fellow of the Royal Society was John Checkley, in 1720. The smallpox arrived in Boston in the following spring, and it was not until June 6, 1721, that Mather drew up his Address to the Physicians, which brought the subject of inoculation to public notice. Only one of the doctors, Zabdiel Boylston, was favorably impressed. The others were either indifferent or hostile. The leader of the opposition was William Douglass, the proud possessor of the sole medical degree among the Boston practitioners. The story of the struggle that followed has been well told by Dr. Fitz in a learned essay published last September,[1] and need not be repeated here. Further details with regard to the incidental war of pamphlets and newspaper articles may be found in my essay on Some Lost Works of Cotton Mather.[2] Douglass took up the cry that Checkley had raised about Mather's F.R.S. In a tract dated February 15, 1721–2, and published on the 6th of March, he suggested that the Society had repudiated Mather. "Perhaps," he writes, "he may oblige his *Alma Mater* to disown him for a Son, as it seems the *Royal Society* have already done, by omitting his Name in their yearly Lists."[3] James Franklin's New-England Courant, though professing impartiality, was the recognized organ of the anti-inoculators. It was regarded by the Mathers and their ministerial friends as a scandalous and irreligious sheet, bent on destroying the influence of the clergy. "Above all," says an anonymous pamphlet of the time, "we wonder at a **Weekly Paper**, which has been, and is now, Published, either *designedly*, to affront our Ministers, and render them Odious; or else, it has hitherto, wretchedly deviated from it's *ultimate Intent*, and been notoriously prostituted to that *Hellish Servitude*."[4] This

[1] Reginald H. Fitz, Zabdiel Boylston, Inoculator, and the Epidemic of Smallpox in Boston in 1721 (The Johns Hopkins Hospital Bulletin, xxii. 315–327).

[2] Proceedings Massachusetts Historical Society, xlv. 418–479.

[3] The Abuses and Scandals of some late Pamphlets in Favour of Inoculation of the Small Pox, Modestly Obviated (Boston, 1722), p. [iv].

[4] A Vindication of the Ministers of Boston, from the Abuses & Scandals, lately cast upon them, in Diverse Printed Papers. By Some of their People (Boston, 1722), p. 3.

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pamphlet, intended as a vindication of the ministers, is dated January 30, 1721–2, and was issued before February 5th.[1] It was inspired by Cotton Mather, and much of it is unquestionably from his pen.[2]

Now it appears that there was a rumor afloat to the effect that the Courant's campaign was managed by a club or society of anti-inoculators, who were thought to control that newspaper and to dictate its policy. A communication in the News-Letter of August 28, 1721, equates this supposed organization with the notorious Hell Fire Club of London. The News-Letter, the writer declares, had "entertained its readers" some weeks before "with a sad Account of a scandalous Club set up in London; to Insult the most sacred Principles of the Christian Religion." He adds:

> It goes Currant among the People, that the Practitioners of Physick in Boston, who exert themselves in discovering the evil of Inoculation and its Tendancies (several of whom we know to be Gentlemen by Birth, Learning, Education, Probity and Good Manners, that abhors any ill Action) are said esteem'd and reputed to be the Authors of that Flagicious and Wicked Paper; who we hope and trust will clear themselves off and from the Imputation, else People will take it for granted, they are a New Club set up in New-England, like to that in our Mother England, whom we sincerely and heartily admonish warn and advise, not only to remember Lots Wife; But also what befell several of that Club in England;

[1] It is advertised in the Boston Gazette for January 29–February 5, 1722 (No. 115). In the Courant of the same date (No. 27) James Franklin speaks of it as "lately publish'd."

[2] "The villanous Abuses offered and multiplied, unto the Ministers of this Place, require something to be done for their Vindication. I provide Materials for some agreeable Pens among our People, to prosecute this Design withal" (Diary, January 19, 1722, ii. 672). "Something must be done towards the Suppressing and Rebuking of those wicked Pamphletts, that are continually published among us, to lessen and blacken the Ministers, and poison the People" (January 25, 1722, ii. 674). "Several Things of an exquisite Contrivance and Composure, are done for this Purpose. Tho my poor Hand is the Doer of them, they must pass thro other Hands, that I may not pass for the Author of them" (January 26, 1722, ii. 674). One of these "things" may have been A Friendly Debate, which passes for Isaac Greenwood's.

The style of the Vindication, in many places, certainly seems to be Mather's. Douglass thought the book was written (at least, in part) by the Rev. Benjamin Colman, and said as much in his Abuses and Scandals (p. 7, cf. p. 5). Colman promptly denied all knowledge of the authorship (Courant, March 5–12, 1722, No. 32; Gazette, March 5–12, 1722, No. 120), and Douglass retracted (Courant, as above).

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(which we forbear to name) lest their Bands be made strong, and a worse thing befall them.[1]

To this attack there was a reply in the next Boston Gazette, signed "*W. Anti-inoculator*" and obviously composed by Dr. William Douglass. The writer speaks of the "heinous Charge" that has been brought "against a Club of Physicians in Town," and it is clear from his language that there actually was such a club, or society, and that it was styled "the Society of Physicians Anti-inoculators." He says:

> The Members of the Society of Physicians Anti-Inoculators do not conceal themselves, and if in the least they are guilty as that Blaspheming Hell-fire horrid Club in England, the Authority, for the Good of the Community, ought to oblige the Authors or Publishers of that vile Libel in the Boston News-Letter to make good their Charge *that such execrable wickedness may be crushed in Embrio*, and the said Men suffer exemplary punishment; or on the other side vindicate New-England from such horrid aspersions, and *brand the Authors of the said Libel as infamous Libellers*.[2]

On the first day of January, 1722, the following item of English news came out in the New-England Courant:

> *From the London Mercury Sept.* 16.
>
> Great Numbers of Persons, in the City, and in the Suburbs, are under the Inoculation of the Small Pox. Among the rest, the eldest Son of a Noble Duke in Hannover-Square, had the Small Pox Inoculated on him.[3]

The item had been given to James Franklin by Increase Mather's grandson (Mather Byles, apparently), with a request from the old Doctor that it be published in the Courant.[4] Its authenticity was assailed forthwith. In the very next number of that journal an indignant correspondent (probably Douglass) declared that, suspecting the item of being "the Trick of some busy Inoculator," he had searched the London Mercury for it in vain:

[1] Boston News-Letter for August 21–28, 1721 (No. 917).

[2] Boston Gazette for August 28–September 4, 1721 (No. 93).

[3] New-England Courant for December 25, 1721–January 1, 1722 (No. 22).

[4] This appears from Franklin's own account in the Courant for January 29–February 5, 1722 (No. 27).

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I have perused that London News Paper, and do find that the former part, *viz. Great Numbers of Persons in the City and in the Suburbs are under the Inoculation of the Small Pox*, is an addition of his own, and that the very material word *Incognito* is designedly omitted.[1]

The critic, however, had been too hasty in his search. For, on February 5th, Franklin found himself obliged to admit that the missing sentence did in fact occur in the London Mercury on another page, so that the item was genuine.[2] All that was left to complain of was the suppression of the single word *incognito* at the end. The closing sentence should have read, "had the Small Pox inoculated upon him *incognito*." The item (with this word in its proper place) had been printed in the Gazette of January 8th,[3] and on the 15th the Gazette published an unsigned letter, dated "Cambridge, January 11. 1721" (i. e. 1721–2), and ascribed by contemporaries to Samuel Mather.[4] The writer strongly asserted the genuineness of the item[5] and belabored the Courant without mercy. "Every one sees," he declares, "that the main intention of this Vile Courant, is to Vilify and Abuse the best Men we have, and especially the Principal Ministers of Religion in the Country." He goes on to speak of the club which he regards as responsible for such attacks:

[1] Courant for January 1–8, 1722, No. 23. Cf. Douglass, Postscript to Abuses, etc., p. 6.

[2] New-England Courant for January 29–February 5, 1722 (No. 27).

[3] Boston Gazette for January 1–8, 1722 (No. 111).

[4] The letter is plainly ascribed to Samuel Mather in the Courant for January 15–22, 1722 (No. 25): "It seems the *venomous Itch* of *Scribbling* is Hereditary; a Disease transmitted from the *Father to the Son*." And in the Courant for January 29–February 5, 1722 (No. 27), James Franklin speaks of it as "his" (i. e. Increase Mather's) "Grandson's Letter." Probably the ascription is correct. In A Friendly Debate; or, A Dialogue between Rusticus and Academicus (published by James Franklin on March 15, 1722), "A Short Answer" to John Williams's Several Arguments is printed (pp. 8–11), and is ascribed to "an *Academical* Brother (Son to a Fellow of the Royal Society)," — that is, of course, to Samuel Mather; and there is the further statement that the same person "has lately bless'd the whole Country with a matchless and superlatively excellent Letter in the *Boston Gazette*," — that is, the letter of January 11. In the Courant for March 12–19, 1722 (No. 33), Mather disowns the "Short Answer," but says nothing about the letter. His silence on that point is tantamount to an admission of authorship. The date of publication of the Rusticus dialogue is fixed by an advertisement in the Courant for March 5–12, 1722 (No. 32), in which the tract is announced for "Thursday next."

[5] Increase Mather also asserted the genuineness of the item (see his statement in the Boston Gazette for January 22–29, 1722, No. 114).

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If you call this Crew, the *Hell-Fire Club* of *Boston*, your Friend *Campbell* will stand God-father for it; having in one of his News Papers formerly assign'd this proper Name for them. And all the sober People in the Country will say, They deserve it.

He adds:

Every one knows that the Head of the Club is one who printed some *Choice Dialogues*, to prove, *That the GOD whom the Churches of New-England Pray to, is the Devil.*[1]

This was as much as to say that the head of the "Society of Physicians Anti-Inoculators" was John Checkley, who was well known to be the author of the Choice Dialogues, — an assault upon Calvinism. The particular passage to which the Gazette's correspondent adverts must have been in everybody's mouth. Cotton Mather refers to it as follows in a letter to Dr. James Jurin (May 21, 1723): — "This wretched Man, ambitious to do the part of a *Divine*, printed here some Rapsodies, to prove, *That the God whom* K. William, *and the Christians* of New England, *have Worshipped*, is the *D—l*."[2] It was in this same letter that Mather spoke of Checkley's writing "a Letter full of Scandalous Invectives against me, which was publickly read in the *Royal Society*." No one doubts that Mather is here referring to Checkley's letter (April 26, 1721) to Edmund Halley, the Secretary of the Society, in which he requested "a Certificate under your own Hand, relating to M[r] Mather's being a Fellow or not a Fellow of the royal Society."[3] Checkley was a High Churchman and a Non-juror. He was also an apothecary and styled himself "Doctor." Clearly he was on the anti-inoculation side and a member (perhaps the chairman) of the "Society of Physicians Anti-inoculators." Thus we have Checkley associated with Douglass, and the connection between the inoculation controversy and the attacks upon Mather's F.R.S. becomes manifest.

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[1] Boston Gazette for January 8–15, 1722 (No. 112). The Courant for May 6–13, 1723 (No. 93), reprints several items of Boston news (dated "*Boston, Jan.* 21") from a London newspaper, — "the *Post-Boy* of March 16." One of these is pertinent here: "If there was ever a Hell-Fire Club, it is believ'd without breach of Charity, that the Author of a Paper publish'd here under *the Notion* of the New-England Courant, was concern'd in that diabolical Society."

[2] See p. 100 note 2, above.

[3] See pp. 96–101, above.

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We are now in a position to understand a passage in another letter from Mather to Jurin (May 4, 1723):

It is with ye utmost Indignation that some have sometimes beheld ye practice made a meer *Party-business*; and a *Jacobite*, or *High-flying* Party counting themselves bound in duty to their *Party*, to decry it; or perhaps, y^e^ *Party* disaffected unto such & such persons of public *Station* & *Merit*, under ye Obligations of a *Party*, to decline it.[1]

The letter from Cambridge, January 11, 1722, was answered by James Franklin in the Courant of January 22d:

That the *Courants* are carry'd on by a *Hell-Fire Club* with a *Nonjuror* at the Head of them, has been asserted by a certain Clergyman in his common Conversation, with as much Zeal as ever he discover'd in the Application of a Sermon on the most awakening Subject. . . . As to Mr. *C——y*'s being concernd in it, I affirm, I know not of one Piece in the *Courants* of his writing.[2]

Nor was this all. The same number of the Courant that contains Franklin's disclaimer, prints an extremely interesting letter dated "*Hall's Coffee-House, Jan.* 20, 1721." Says the writer, — Douglass, no doubt:

The first Passage concerning *Inoculation* is no more to be found in the *London Mercury* here on the Table, than COTTON MATHER D.D. is to be found in the List of the *Royal Society* affixed at the other end of the Room.

Richard Hall's Coffee-house was in King Street near the Town House (now the Old State House).[3] Manifestly it was the headquar-

[1] The Case of the Small-Pox Inoculated; further cleared. To Dr James Jurin (from the original draught in the possession of the American Antiquarian Society, p. 5). Cf. Douglass, Inoculation of the Small Pox as practised in Boston, Consider'd (Boston, 1722), pp. 12–13.

[2] New-England Courant for January 15–22, 1722 (No. 25). In the Courant for February 5–12, 1722 (No. 28), Franklin published an account of the original Hell Fire Club, of course repudiating all connection with it. For various extracts relating to these matters, see J. T. Buckingham, Specimens of Newspaper Literature, Boston, 1850, i. 50 ff.

[3] On April 15, 1718, "Mr Richard Halls Petition to Sell Strong drink as an Inholder at a Tenement of Simion Stoddard Esqr in Cornhill [now Washington Street] is disallowed by ye Sel. men" (Boston Record Commissioners' Reports, xiii. 36). On July 6, 1719, Hall's application for a license as "Inholder at Large" was similarly disapproved, but, on July 15th, the Selectmen "allowed"

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ters of the "Society of Physicians Anti-Inoculators," to which we may feel sure that both Douglass and Checkley belonged. "Doctor" Checkley's shop, "The Crown and Blue-Gate," in which he sold notions and dispensed drugs, was close by. It was in his house, which stood opposite the Town House, on a part of the present site of the Sears Building.[1] We are at liberty to imagine him, after business hours or when trade was slack, strolling down to Hall's, foregathering with Douglass and other kindred spirits, and pointing out to some chance visitor the printed list of Fellows of the Royal Society which he or Douglass had posted up on the wall of the common room. The visitor scans the list. He cannot discover Cotton Mather's name in it. "What did I tell you?" cries Checkley exultantly, with a glance at Douglass. And one more Bostonian is converted to the doctrine that Dr. Mather has been sporting a fictitious title for almost ten years!

One further bit of evidence may be adduced to show that Hall's Coffee House was the rendezvous of the anti-inoculators. In the Courant for March 12, 1722, we read:

> Last Monday in the *Gazette* . . . was published Dr. *Woodward's* Abstract of *Timonius* on Inoculation, subscribed *Zabdiel Boylston*, concluding with a Preface, or having an Introduction appended. So soon as the same my very worthy and learned Physician has finished his Translation of *Pylarinus* (which I am told is in Latin) the World is to be obliged therewith, together with some of his own *Casus Medici*.[2]

And the same Courant contains a letter (unsigned, but manifestly from the pen of Douglass) advising Boylston to go to Hall's Coffee House and consult a "paper" (probably a broadside) that he will find there — affixed to the wall, perhaps, by the side of the List of Fellows of the Royal Society:

> By the last Gazette I understand the Town is to be Favoured with some *Medical Cases*, by the Author's proper Observations. That he may

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(i. e., approved), among other petitions "for Lycence to keep comon victuallin Houses and coffee House," the petition of "Rich[d] Hall" to keep such a place of refreshment "at his House nigh y[e] T. House in Kink Street" (xiii. 54, 56). On July 4, 1720, they approved Hall's petition to sell strong drink as an innholder "in King Street at his house there" (xiii. 70).

[1] Slafter, John Checkley (Prince Society, 1897), i. 12–13.

[2] New-England Courant for March 5–12, 1722 (No. 32). Unfortunately no copy of "last Monday's Gazette" (for March 5, 1722) is known to exist.

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have a Precedent to go by, and may be sufficiently furnished with hard words, which altho' he himself does not understand, may be of use to amuse his Patients and Readers: Please to advise him to Hall's Coffe House, to a London Paper call'd *Pharmacopola Circumforaneus*; Or, The *Horse Doctor*'s Harangue [1] to the credulous Mob.[2]

Then follows an extract, conceived in the style of unctious and farcical vulgarity which exhilarated our ancestors in their profaner moments.

It is painful to note that Hall's Coffee House soon after fell into disrepute. On July 8, 1723, the Selectmen of Boston "Excepted to Richard Hall and Alice Oliver as unfitt to hold and Exercise the Imployment of a Tavernor and Retailer by Reason of their not keeping good Rule & order in their Houses."[3] Nevertheless, later in the same year,[4] Hall received a license on probation. On July 13, 1724, however, he was again objected to by the Selectmen,[5] and apparently their objection prevailed, for I hear no more of his Coffee House.[6]

The Courant of May 21, 1722, contains a long, unsigned letter, evidently from Douglass, complaining of "sundry false Communications concerning the Small Pox, and the Inoculation thereof," which (so the writer alleges) have been sent to England by "the Inoculators of this Place, to ensnare our Mother Country." Among these communications is mentioned "An Account of the Method and Success of Inoculating the Small Pox upon great Numbers of People (who all recovered) in New England" — a tract which I have elsewhere tried to show was the work of Cotton Mather. At the end of the letter occurs the following paragraph:

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[1] Compare what Douglass says of Boylston in his Dissertation concerning Inoculation of the Small-Pox (Boston, 1730), p. 7: "This sort of Quackery is only fit for a Stage in a Country Market Town."

[2] New-England Courant for March 5–12, 1722 (No. 32). Another letter, dated "*Hall's Coffee-House, March* 19" may be found in the Courant for March 19–26, 1722 (No. 34). It refers to the Gazette for March 19 (not known to be extant), and indicates that Hall's was a political rendezvous.

[3] Boston Record Commissioners' Reports, xiii. 115.

[4] xiii. 118.

[5] xiii. 128.

[6] On July 5, 1728, the petition of "Richard Hall in maulbro Street" to retail strong drink "with out Doors" was disapproved by the Selectmen (xiii. 177).

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I take this Oportunity to inform our Friend, who sometime ago complained, *That the Publishers of the Philosophical Transactions are become very neglectful and very partial in their Communications*, that he must wait sometime longer before his Communications can have Admittance. The universally learned and penetrating Genius Dr. *Edmund Halley*, (who these last eight Years in Quality of *Secretary* of the *Royal Society*, has fully restored the almost lost Credit of the *Philosophical Transactions*,) having resigned his *Secretaryship*, is succeeded therein by Dr. *James Jurnu*,[1] Fellow of the Colledge of Physicians, a Man of solid Judgment, a good *Mathematician*, a curious experimental *Philosopher* and one who seems to value himself upon the detecting of whimscial groundless Conceits, credulous Relations, and false or trivial Reasonings.[2]

Apparently Douglass is quoting from something that Mather had said (in conversation) about the neglect and partiality of the editors. But, in any case, Mather had merely repeated what Dr. John Woodward had written to him on April 3, 1721.[3]

Dr. Jurin became Secretary of the Royal Society on November 30, 1721.[4] Douglass could not foresee that the new Secretary was to prove one of the staunchest supporters of inoculation that England could show,[5] and that he was to quote Mather with respect in discussing this subject before the Royal Society.[6]

In my previous paper I was obliged to confess my ignorance as to the attitude of Dr. Alexander Stuart with regard to inoculation. I suggested, however, one reason for supposing that he was unfriendly to the practice.[7] The matter is of interest to us, since Stuart was the person to whom Douglass addressed some of his most drastic observations in reproof of Mather and his allies. It may be worth while, therefore, to add a bit of evidence which has recently come to my notice.

In 1722 Dr. William Wagstaffe, Swift's friend, published an attack on inoculation in the form of a letter to Dr. John Freind.[8] In an appendix he remarks:

[1] Misprint for *Jurin*.
[2] New-England Courant for May 14–21, 1722 (No. 42).
[3] See p. 101, above.
[4] Weld, History of the Royal Society, ii. 561.
[5] See p. 103 and note 5, above.
[6] Proceedings Massachusetts Historical Society, xlv. 475–477.
[7] See p. 103, above.
[8] A Letter to Dr. Freind; shewing the Danger and Uncertainty of Inoculating the Small Pox. London, 1722.

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SINCE I finish'd this,[1] I have had the perusal of some Letters, which Dr. *Alexander Stuart* has received from Dr. *William Douglass*, a Physician of the best Credit and Practice at *Boston* in *New England*. It seems some of the *Reverend Divines* there, upon reading the Account of *Inoculation* in the *Philosophical Transactions*, took it into their Heads to put it in Practice; and did so, not only against the Opinion of the *Practising Physicians* of the Place, but directly against the Consent of the Magistracy: With what Success, the following *Extracts* will show.

Then Wagstaffe proceeds to make extracts from three of Douglass's letters — amounting in the aggregate to about thirteen printed pages. The letters are dated December 20, 1721, and February 15[2] and April 27, 1722. The first two of these letters were published by Douglass in 1722;[3] the third, so far as I know, had not been printed. Wagstaffe's use of the documents, along with his introductory comments, makes it clear that Stuart (who showed him the letters) was an anti-inoculator.

The reasons why Cotton Mather's name did not appear in the annual lists of Fellows of the Royal Society have already been explained.[4] In confirmation of what has already been said, let me add the facts with regard to the Rev. William Brattle and Paul Dudley.[5]

Mr. Brattle, as we know, was elected a Fellow on March 11, 1714. He died on February 15, 1717. My friend Professor Carleton F. Brown has examined for me a file of the annual lists of the Royal Society in the British Museum, and informs me that Mr. Brattle's name does not occur in any of them during the years in question. Paul Dudley was elected on November 2, 1721. His name does not appear in any list before 1729. Its occurrence in that year is explained by the statute of 1727.[6] True, the Secretary was two years late in inserting Dudley's name, but *en revanche* it remained in the annual catalogues for two years after Dudley's death, its last appearance being in 1753. These details, which I also owe to Professor Brown, illustrate, in the most satisfactory manner, the practice of the Society with

[1] That is, since June 12, 1722, the date of Wagstaffe's letter.
[2] Douglass here is certainly using the New Style.
[3] See Proceedings Massachusetts Historical Society, xlv. 457 note.
[4] Pp. 88–89, 91–93, 95–96, 111–112, above.
[5] Cf. pp. 95–96, above.
[6] See p. 112, above.

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regard to its annual lists. If Mather had lived a little longer, he would have enjoyed (like Dudley) the benefit of the statute of 1727.

Mr. HENRY H. EDES made the following communication:

The letter of Lieutenant-Governor Dummer,[1] which I communicate this evening, was written to his sister-in-law Mary, wife of Joseph Atkins of Newbury. It announces the death of his wife, the exact date of which event does not appear in any of the notices of the Dummers or the Dudleys that I have seen. The text of the letter follows:

DEAR SISTER

I am at length Come to the Sad Task of mentioning to you the departure of my dear Wife, the Sole partner of all my ffelicity in this Life, which has left so many tender Impressions on my poor heart that wherever I turne my Selfe mind or Body my heart ever Sickens with some Soft Ideas of Her footsteps, but I desire to be dumb & Silent as it was the Will of God, who has taken Her to Himselfe, & was pleased to give Her Such measures of of His Grace under all the Tryals He Called Her to as was greatly Edifying to all about Her. Her dolorous pains for nights & Dayes without intermission, without sleep, put me in Constant terrour that it must distract Her, but God Supported Her Wonderfully with a Clear understanding to the last moment, with a humble submission to His Will. Her Soul Sustained it all, but the Body Dyed — God grant us equal Supports in the Day of Tryal.

Y^r Affe^e Bro^r

W^M DUMMER

Boston 3^d ffeb^y 1752.

My Love to Brother Atkins with my thanks for his good Letters.

This letter has enabled me to fix the date of Madam Dummer's decease with precision; and the kindness of our associate Mr. Julius H. Tuttle has put me in possession of the following obituary notice which appeared in the Boston Weekly News-Letter of Thursday, 16 January, 1752:

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[1] Lieutenant-Governor Dummer died 10 October, 1761, and was buried in the Granary Burial Ground. He died childless, leaving a large estate to the children of his sister Anne, the wife of John Powell of Boston. He also endowed Dummer Academy. See New England Historical and Genealogical Register, xliv. 249–253; Quincy, History of Harvard University, ii. 140, 141; Suffolk Probate Records, lix. 397–408.

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BOSTON

On Monday last died here, after a painful Sickness of some Weeks, Mrs. CATHARINE DUMMER, the Lady of His Honour WILLIAM DUMMER, Esq; late Lieut. Governor and Commander in Chief, over this Province; and Daughter of His Excellency Governor DUDLEY. She was a Gentlewoman of shining Accomplishments, and steady Piety: a lovely Example of Domestick Conduct, and the Social Virtues. She died in the perfect Calms of unwavering Faith, happy Reflections and glorious Prospects. As she had lived universally honoured and beloved, so her Death is equally regretted and lamented. Her Funeral will be attended To-Morrow Evening (p. 2 / 2).[1]

Lieutenant-Governor Dummer lived in Orange (now Washington) Street, Boston, near Hollis Street, and during the latter part of his life he and his wife were worshipers in the Church in Hollis Street, during the ministry of the Rev. Mather Byles. After Madam Dummer's death Mr. Byles preached a Funeral Sermon, in the title-page[2] of which a curious typographical blunder occurs, it being there stated that the sermon was "Preach'd at Boston, January 9, 1752. The Lord's-Day after her death and Burial." The ninth of January, 1752, fell on Thursday, four days before Madam Dummer's demise, while "the Lord's-Day after her death" fell on the *nineteenth* of January, which, undoubtedly, is the date that should

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[1] The same notice appeared in two other Boston newspapers, without change except in the last line, which read: "She was very honourably interred on Friday last" (Boston Evening-Post, Monday, 20 January, 1752, p. 2/1); and "Her Remains was decently and honourably interr'd on Friday last" (Boston Post-Boy, Monday, 20 January, 1752, p. 2/1).

[2] God the Strength and Portion of His People, under all / the Exigences of Life and Death: / — / A / Funeral Sermon / On the Honourable / Mrs. Katherine Dummer, / The Lady of His Honour / William Dummer, Esq; / Late Lieutenant-Governour and Commander in Chief / over this Province. / Preach'd at Boston, January 9, 1752. / The Lord's-Day after her Death and Burial. / — / By Mr. Byles. / — / [Two lines from Psalms, lxxxviii, 18; and five lines from 2 Cor. i. 3, 4.] / — / — / Boston; N. E. Printed by John Draper. 1752. 8vo. pp. 24, (1).

[On the last page:]

/ — / Extract from the Boston News-Papers. / January 13, 1752. / This Day Died here, after a painful sickness . . . [Continues the same as newspaper notice, but without the last sentence.] / — / .

Our associate Mr. Frederick Lewis Gay brought this sermon to my attention. He had not, however, detected the error mentioned in the text.

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have appeared on the title-page of the sermon. Mr. Byles also preached a Funeral Sermon after the death of the Lieutenant-Governor.

Governor Joseph Dudley had many children. The four daughters who reached maturity were Rebecca, born 5 May, 1681, who married Samuel Sewall, Jr., 15 September, 1702; Ann, born 27 August, 1684, who married (1) John Winthrop, F.R.S., 16 December, 1707, and (2) Jeremiah Miller [1] of New London, Connecticut; Catharine, born 5 January, 1690, who married William Dummer, 20 April, 1714; and Mary, born 2 November, 1692, who married (1) Francis Wainwright (who died 4 September, 1722 [2]), 1 January, 1712–3, and (2) Joseph Atkins, 7 April, 1730, and died 19 November, 1774. An interesting tradition relates that in 1707, when his youngest daughter, Mary, was but fifteen years old, Governor Dudley had her portrait painted at his house, together with those of her then unmarried sisters, Ann and Catharine. The portrait of Mrs. Atkins was in the possession of the late Miss Mary Russell Curzon of Curzon's Mill, Newburyport. The portrait of Mrs. Dummer, its companion, adorns the walls of Dummer Academy at Byfield, together with one of her husband, the Lieutenant-Governor. Mrs. Winthrop's portrait is in the collection of Mrs. Robert Winthrop of New York.

Mr. EDES also communicated the following letter written by Admiral Sir Isaac Coffin to William Coffin:

NANTUCKET 11th Sepr 1826

DEAR SIR

Being desirous of establishing a School here on the Lancastrian System [3] for the Benefit of the Descendants of the late Tristram Coffin who emigrated from England & settled at Salisbury near Newbury Port, Male & Female, I request you will at your Leisure give me an Estimate of the

[1] Muskett, Suffolk Manorial Families, i. 27.

[2] Sewall's Diary, iii. 306, which states that Wainwright died at his brother-in-law Winthrop's house in Boston.

[3] A Lancastrian or Lancasterian school is one based on the principle established by Joseph Lancaster (1778–1838), of whom there is a sketch in the Dictionary of National Biography. That system was a monitorial one, and had a great vogue both in England and here early in the nineteenth century. He himself came to this country about 1820.

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Cost of such an Arrangement, that I may endeavor to put in Execution a plan I have long had in contemplation for the Benefit of my Relations who may be Inhabitants of this Town

I am Dear Sir
Very truly yours
ISAAC COFFIN

William Coffin Esqr
&c &c &c

[*Endorsements*]
Sir I. Coffin to W^{m}
Coffin Nant: 11 Sept 1826
respecting his plan
& wish to establish a
Lancastrian School

[*Addressed*]
William Coffin Esqr
&c &c &c
Nantucket

Mr. LANE showed photographs from silhouettes of Longfellow, Thaddeus Mason Harris, and President and Mrs. Josiah Quincy, in a collection of 3500 similar portraits cut by August Edouart while in America, which is now offered for sale by Mrs. E. Nevill Jackson for £3,000.[1]

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[1] Some new facts in regard to Lowndes's Bibliographer's Manual have recently come to light, but too late for insertion in their proper place (p. 272 note 1, above). The various editions or impressions of the Manual, especially those edited by Bohn between 1857 and 1869, are, from a bibliographical point of view, very puzzling; but we need concern ourselves here only with the editions or impressions that appeared in or before 1834. What has apparently always been regarded as the first edition was published in 1834. A copy of this edition in two volumes is in the Harvard College Library. Vol. i contains title, p. (i); printer's imprint, p. (ii); dedication, p. (iii); Preface, pp. (v)–xii; text, pp. (1)–1054. Vol. ii contains title, p. (i); printer's imprint, p. (ii); text, pp. 1055–2002. A copy of the 1834 edition in three volumes is in the Boston Public Library. Vol. i contains title, p. (i); printer's imprint, p. (ii); dedication, p. (iii); Preface, pp. (v)–xii; Address, two leaves, pp. (i)–iii; text, pp. (1)–638. Vols. ii and iii contain each title, p. (i); printer's imprint, pp. (ii); and text, pp. 639–1316, 1317–2002, respectively. Two copies of the 1834 edition in four volumes are in the Boston Public Library. Vol. i contains title, p. (i); printer's imprint, p. (ii); dedication, p. (iii); Preface, pp. (v)–xii; text, pp. (1)–530. Vols. ii, iii, and iv contain each title, p. (i); printer's imprint, p. (ii); and text, pp.

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531–1054, 1055–1528, 1529–2002, respectively. A copy of the 1834 edition in four volumes is in the Boston Athenæum. Vol. i contains title, p. (i); printer's imprint, p. (ii); dedication, p. (iii); Preface, pp. (v)–xii; Address, two leaves, pp. (i)–iii; text, pp. (1)–498. Vols. ii, iii, and iv contain each title, p. (i); printer's imprint, p. (ii); and text, pp. 499–994, 995–1524, 1525–2002, respectively. Here, then, are five copies of the 1834 edition of which all but two differ in contents or in make-up. In the Address we read: "The BIBLIOGRAPHER'S MANUAL will extend to Three Volumes" (p. ii). Perhaps, therefore, the Address properly goes only with the three-volume edition of the work; and if so, it was bound into vol. i of the Boston Athenæum copy by mistake.

In his Preface, dated January 1, 1834, Lowndes says that "this Manual was commenced in the year 1820" (p. xii). And also: "It was stated in the prospectus that these notices would exceed *twenty thousand;* but as the Editor proceeded, he was insensibly compelled to extend the limits which he had prescribed to himself; and the work does, in fact, contain notices of upwards of *fifty thousand* distinct books, published in, or relating to, Great Britain and Ireland, from the invention of printing to the present time" (p. vii). In his Address, we read: "IN submitting the FIRST PART of the BIBLIOGRAPHER'S MANUAL, the Compiler deems it necessary to state briefly the objects and plan of the work" (p. i). And again: "The BIBLIOGRAPHER'S MANUAL will . . . comprise upwards of Thirty Thousand Articles" (p. ii). Unfortunately this Address is not dated, but it must have been written long before the Preface; and it clearly indicates that a portion or portions of the Manual must have been issued before 1834. That this was the case can now be shown from other sources. The Rev. J. S. J. Gardiner died in 1830 and his library was sold in Boston on April 13, 1831. On the verso of the title-page of the Catalogue the compiler says: "Notices in the Catalogue of valuable editions, rare works, prices, etc. are wholly from Dibdin's Introduction to the Greek and Roman Classics, Brunet's Manuel de Libraire, Lowndes' Bibliographer's Manual, (as far as published,) printed catalogues of remarkable sales, and other well known authorities to which reference is usually made." And the compiler quotes about fifty extracts from Lowndes, among them items under the names of Zachariah Mudge, Thomas Newton, John Parkhurst, John Pearson, and Beilby Porteus. Indeed, by 1831 the Manual had progressed certainly as far as Shakespeare. The items devoted to Shakespeare in all copies of the 1834 edition fill pp. 1644–1666 and a portion of the first column of p. 1667. This portion, consisting of thirteen leaves, the last page blank, was issued by Lowndes as a separate, but without pagination and without signatures 10c and 10d (which in the 1834 edition come on pp. 1659 and 1667), though signature 10b (on p. 1651 of the 1834 edition) is retained. The recto of the first leaf has this title: "Shakespeare / and his / Commentators, / from / Lowndes' Bibliographer's Manual. / 1831." Facing the title is Droeshout's portrait of Shakespeare, "London, Published by William Pickering, . . . 1825." The Boston Public Library owns two copies of this separate. On a fly-leaf of one is written, "Sir Simon Clarke Bart. / With the Compiler's Respects. / Fifty-two copies printed." And on a fly-leaf of the other is written, "Mr Rodd / With the Compiler's kind / Regards. / Fifty-two copies printed." But from another source it is learned that the Manual was originally published in numbers, many of which had appeared in or before 1829; for in a "Catalogue of Books, Ancient and Modern, on sale at the prices affixed, by Thomas Rodd," London, 1832, occurs this item (p. 329): "8032 Lowndes

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(W.) Bibliographers Manual, an account of rare, curious, and useful Books, published in or relating to Great Britain and Ireland, 5s per No., 15 Nos. 1829". It would be interesting to know where such numbers could now be found. They do not appear in the Catalogue of the British Museum. But enough has been said to show that Rich's statement about Morton's book was doubtless taken from Lowndes.

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ANNUAL MEETING, NOVEMBER, 1912

THE ANNUAL MEETING of the Society was held at the Algonquin Club, No. 217 Commonwealth Avenue, Boston, on Thursday, 21 November, 1912, at six o'clock in the afternoon, the President, HENRY LEFAVOUR, LL.D., in the chair.

The Records of the last Stated Meeting were read and approved.

The CORRESPONDING SECRETARY reported that letters had been received from the Hon. ROBERT GRANT and Mr. BARRETT WENDELL accepting Resident Membership.

The PRESIDENT announced the death during the past year of the Rev. EDWARD HENRY HALL, THOMAS JEFFERSON COOLIDGE, Jr., WILLIAM WATSON GOODWIN, EDMUND MARCH WHEELWRIGHT, and JAMES WILLSON BROOKS, Resident Members; and of JOHN TAGGARD BLODGETT, WILLIAM BABCOCK WEEDEN, and HORACE HOWARD FURNESS, Corresponding Members.

On behalf of Mr. ANDREW MCFARLAND DAVIS, the following appreciation of Professor Goodwin was communicated:

At the first stated meeting of this Society William Watson Goodwin was elected a resident member. The selection of his name was governed by various considerations, conspicuous among which was his claim upon us arising from his Pilgrim ancestry. To-day, Plymouth is a manufacturing town with a mixed population, of which the portion that is of American birth forms a decided minority. In the boyhood of Goodwin nearly every one to be met on the streets of Plymouth was an American of English descent, and the chances were that any person thus casually encountered could trace back his ancestry to one or more of the passengers on the Mayflower.

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It is true that Professor Goodwin was not a native of Plymouth. He was born at Concord where his father was then settled as minister to the Unitarian Congregation, but both his father and mother were from the Old Colony, and the numerous representatives, direct and collateral, of his mother's family, the Watsons, still to be found in Plymouth, assured him a welcome and guaranteed him a home there should he claim it. As a matter of fact, he spent nearly all his boyhood life thus domesticated with his grandmother, during which time opportunity was afforded for his uncle Benjamin Marston Watson to aid him in his classical studies and to lay the foundation for that knowledge of Greek grammar which was in after life to dictate his special line of study, and which served to hasten the time when he could appreciate the beauties of that language.

In the interval since the historical landing at Plymouth, there have been marriages and intermarriages between the members of such of the different Pilgrim families as have continued to reside in the Old Colony, until the representatives of those families frequently unite in their individual persons claims to ancestry from many of the Pilgrim Fathers. Whatever demand our Registrar might have made upon Goodwin in that line could have been met with ease, since it has been claimed in his behalf that he could trace his descent from fourteen of the passengers on the Mayflower. Moreover, although his legal residence was at Cambridge, he had a summer house on Clark's Island, thus entitling him to claim that he not only stood for Pilgrim ancestry, but also that he represented Plymouth itself. He had a peculiar fondness for his Clark's Island house, built as it was upon land which came first into possession of one of his ancestors by grant from the town in 1690, and notwithstanding the difficulties attendant upon housekeeping on a spot where connection with the market could be maintained only through the navigation by a sail boat of a tortuous and narrow channel several miles in length, thus placing all communication with the shore at the mercy of the winds, which at all times during the summer months were capricious and baffling. Ultimately the more reliable means of transit afforded by a motor boat was adopted, but Goodwin derived pleasure from the act of sailing his boat and clung to the sail long after he might have profited by the facilities furnished by an explosive engine. President Eliot very justly regards the choice of this summer

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residence and the mode of life there as a manifestation of Goodwin's strong conservatism and local attachment.

The experience of all these years of sailing between the island and the town made Goodwin a proficient pilot of Plymouth Harbor, and a skilful manager of a sail boat, one who knew the tidal currents of the bay and who could predict with confidence the effect of wind and tide upon objects drifting in those waters. With this expert knowledge at his command he set to work to analyze the account given by Bradford of the approach to Plymouth of the shallop which contained the exploring party sent out by the Mayflower from Provincetown in November, 1620. The incident which he was thus seeking to elucidate was unimportant, but his interest in it and his attempt to study out the details of the course of the dismasted, rudderless boat in its perilous entry to the harbor where safe anchorage was finally found under the lee of Clark's Island demonstrate his fondness for the subjects with which we are especially concerned.

This episode of island life belongs to the latter part of Goodwin's career. In considering it as one of the elements which entered into his relations with this Society by making him a representative of Plymouth as well as a Pilgrim descendant, we have passed over certain incidents in his life which it is essential that we should consider if we would form any just estimate of the consistent manner in which he pursued his career and mastered the subject in which he was specially interested.

When he entered Harvard College, a fundamental knowledge of Greek was a requisite for admission and study of the language was required during the freshman and sophomore years. The opportunity afforded students in Goodwin's day for gaining familiarity with Greek literature was exceptionally good, both Felton and Sophocles being then in the teaching force. Goodwin not only took advantage of this during his career as undergraduate, but after taking his A.B. in 1851, he remained two years at Cambridge as a resident-graduate.

In 1853 he transferred the field of his work to Germany, where at the Universities of Göttingen, Berlin, and Bonn he familiarized himself with the German tongue and pursued still further his study of the Greek language. In 1855 he took his Doctor's degree at Göttingen and shortly thereafter returned to the United States. His European

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studies had been of the utmost value to him and the friendships then acquired were to last for a lifetime. If any one would comprehend how much he prized this experience let him turn to the Memoir of George Martin Lane written by Goodwin and printed in the sixth volume of our Publications, where on pages 98, 99 and 100 the author dilates upon the historical character of the friendly relations between Göttingen and Harvard. The theme was to his taste and the list there given by him of distinguished men connected with Harvard who had sought the Göttingen degree was certainly impressive.

In 1856 he received an appointment as tutor at Harvard College. His duties, which were at first to teach both Latin and Greek, were, much to his satisfaction, very shortly thereafter changed by limiting his work to Greek alone. Four years after this appointment he, being then twenty-nine years of age, was appointed to succeed Cornelius Conway Felton as Eliot Professor of Greek Literature. It was in this year, 1860, that he published his Syntax of the Greek Moods and Tenses, a work that gave him international fame and on which his reputation as a scholar has continued solidly to rest. The vitality of the work has been preserved by incorporating in successive editions the revelations of modern scholastic study, thus keeping the research in the book fully up to date.

One other work, published in 1870, his Greek Grammar, contributed also to his fame. The principal merit of both of these books is attributed by competent critics, firstly, to accuracy of statement by the author; secondly, to his clear and precise use of language; and finally, to the thoroughness with which he treated any subject under discussion.

The author of the Memoir in the Harvard Graduates' Magazine for September, 1912, in speaking of the Syntax of the Greek Moods and Tenses, says:

> The distinction of the book rests upon its lucid and exact statements, upon a sobriety which holds fast to facts to the exclusion of theoretical discussion, and upon a refusal to abandon the safe ground of ascertained law for the shifting sands of comparative syntax as it was then known. . . .
>
> It is the expression of a cautious scholar who had schooled himself to adapt his work to the purpose it was designed to serve, who possessed a varied knowledge of English speech, which he wielded with precision in setting forth the fine distinctions of the delicate Greek idiom.

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Professor Goodwin was first a student and second a teacher, and he made no effort to secure literary fame from publications, or popular approval as a public speaker. In the latter function his method was conversational rather than oratorical, and what he had to say was so simply stated that there could be no doubt as to the precise meaning of his language. As a writer he seldom ventured out of the routine of his special subjects and a list of his minor publications would, whatever its interest to a specialist, have but little attraction for the public.

As a member of the Harvard faculty he is said to have fulfilled faithfully the obligations of that service. He himself once said: "The faculty may be divided into three parts: one third who attend the meetings habitually, one third who attend occasionally, and one third who do not attend at all." He belonged to the first of these divisions, and President Eliot bears testimony to the support received from Goodwin by the advocates of the elective system at the time when it was first sought to stimulate study at Harvard by this means. That by so doing Goodwin hastened the day when Greek was to be stricken from the list of required studies for entrance to Harvard is probably true. When that unwelcome proposition was submitted in the faculty, he battled royally against the measure, but however earnest he was in speech, his colleagues bear testimony that he preserved his temper throughout the discussion. It is quite possible that had he foreseen the influence of the new system upon the position of Greek as a required study for admission to college, he would still have supported its introduction. President Eliot, speaking of the support received from him at that time, says, "Goodwin always looked back with great satisfaction to his successful advocacy of these changes in the policy of the College, and he had good reason so to do."

Notwithstanding the limited quantity of his contributions to literature, he was honored with recognition by universities on both sides of the Atlantic and showered with honorary memberships in philological and archæological societies.

In 1893 he was elected a Vice-President of this Society and he continuously held that office down to his death. Though it was not expected of him that he should while teaching in Harvard University assume active responsibility for a society which was then contending for its right to exist, an examination of the indexes to our earlier

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volumes will disclose the fact that his interest was genuine and that his service was not merely perfunctory. He was ever loyal to the Society, and was a frequent attendant at our meetings, at some of which he acted as presiding officer. Remarks that he made at several of these meetings secured for him through mention in our records the evidence that he was present and enable us to point to our Publications for proof of the service that he rendered us at a time when his support and encouragement were gratefully received.

Goodwin was twice married, "twice happily married" is the felicitous expression of President Eliot. By his first wife he had two children, one of whom died young, while the other grew up to be a promising young man, having a good record for scholarship in College. Just as he had reached a time of life when his society would have filled a needed want in Goodwin's life, he also died. A scholarship in Harvard was founded by the father in honor of the son's memory. In 1901 Goodwin resigned active work in the College and was appointed Professor Emeritus. His last days were spent in the house on Follen Street which he had continuously occupied for nearly fifty years. The companionship of his charming wife, the society of his numerous friends and the respectful manner in which he was treated by all who had access to this delightful household, made these years of freedom from the pressure of engagements full of pleasure and satisfaction to him up to the time that we were warned of our impending loss through the physical discomfort and actual suffering that preceded his death.

His Greek Moods and Tenses was first published in 1860; his Greek Grammar ten years thereafter. The rewards that he met with in the way of recognition of the scholarship displayed in these works through the conference of honorary degrees began with Amherst in 1881 and ceased with the fifty-year degree of Göttingen in 1905. This continuous recognition on the part of institutions of learning of the value of Goodwin's books is rare testimony to the accuracy and thoroughness of his work.

His life was free from striking incident. Having from the time that he entered College but one purpose, he was able to bring to bear in carrying out that purpose a concentrated and continuous effort. The success that followed was gratifying and complete. His mastery of his specialty compelled international recognition.

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His commanding figure, surmounted by his white hair and beard, made him conspicuous whether alone or in a crowd. Simple, unostentatious and thoroughly unaffected, his genial manner proved attractive to all, even to those whose approach to his person might otherwise have been checked by the natural dignity of his bearing. We who have known him shall miss his presence at our meetings. The Society will feel the loss of a loyal member.

The Annual Report of the Council was presented and read by the Rev. CHARLES E. PARK.

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL

The past year shows a record of the usual number of six Stated Meetings of the Society. An exceptionally interesting and valuable collection of papers has been presented. The April meeting was again held in Gore Hall, at the invitation of Mr. Lane, the Society being gratefully anxious to continue this very delightful annual custom. The other meetings have been held, as in recent years, under the hospitable roof of the American Unitarian Association, at 25 Beacon Street, and their kindness to us has been duly acknowledged.

During the year, five names have been taken from our roll of resident membership:

EDWARD HENRY HALL, scholar, and servant of God, a man of life-long loyalties, in whose knightly spirit were to be found those rare combinations of strength and gentleness, ability and simplicity, rigid self-discipline and an unfailing human charity.

THOMAS JEFFERSON COOLIDGE, Jr., financier, and man of affairs, who, born for responsibility, equipped with well-poised judgment and faultless tact, and stimulated by an unsuspected civic pride, assumed the burden of great business enterprises, and carried them through with profit to others and credit to himself.

WILLIAM WATSON GOODWIN, a profound and temperate scholar, whose achievements find their lasting memorial in the gratitude of two continents, but whose intellectual ability was dwarfed by his ability to command the respect and love of all who knew him.

EDMUND MARCH WHEELWRIGHT, for five years architect of the City of Boston, a man of great native talent and of unstinted gen-

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erosity, one to whom much was given, and from whom much has been received.

JAMES WILLSON BROOKS, a child of the sunshine, whose noble life and wholesome outdoor interests inevitably bring to mind the words of the prophet: "that they might be called trees of righteousness, the planting of the Lord."

Also from our list of Corresponding Members:

JOHN TAGGARD BLODGETT, Justice of the Supreme Court of Rhode Island, who attacked his duties with an enormous industry and a rugged independence of opinion, and in whose career the noble traditions of a famous family of judges have suffered no detriment.

WILLIAM BABCOCK WEEDEN, soldier, author, and man of business, one of the foremost citizens of Rhode Island, whose services to his times were varied and thorough, and who found his recreation in literary and historical pursuits of permanent value to posterity.

HORACE HOWARD FURNESS, Shakespearean critic, whose world-wide fame is the true reward of his thorough workmanship, and who brought to his self-appointed task the enthusiasm of an explorer, the sympathy of a lover, the sanity of a scholar, and the consecration of a priest.

Eleven gentlemen have been elected into membership in the Society, ten of them as Resident Members:

MELVILLE MADISON BIGELOW,
ARTHUR FAIRBANKS,
CLARENCE SAUNDERS BRIGHAM,
FRED NORRIS ROBINSON,
ROGER BIGELOW MERRIMAN,
CHESTER NOYES GREENOUGH,
LINCOLN NEWTON KINNICUTT,
SAMUEL ELIOT MORISON,
ROBERT GRANT,
BARRETT WENDELL;

and one as Corresponding Member:

EDWARD VANDERHOOF BIRD.

The work of the publication of the Society's transactions has been prosecuted as thoroughly as possible. Volume XIII, containing Transactions from January, 1910, to March, 1911, inclusive, has been completed and distributed. This means that members should have in their possession Volumes I–XIII, with the exception of Volume II.

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The text of this Volume II, which is of Collections and contains the Royal Commissions, is wholly cast, and will probably make its appearance in the spring. Volume XIV, of Transactions, is more than half in type, having reached page 297. Volumes XV and XVI, Collections devoted to the Harvard College Records, are wholly in type, and 640 of the 864 pages are cast. The Society acknowledges with deep gratitude the generosity of one of our associates who not only makes the publication of Volume II possible, but has offered to meet the expense of publishing the Royal Instructions, and work thereon has therefore been resumed.

The Society was invited to attend the centennial celebration of the American Antiquarian Society at Worcester, October 16, and delegated our associate, Mr. Chief-Justice Knowlton, to be our representative, and to present our address of salutation.

The American Academy of Arts and Sciences, having recently moved into their new building, have very kindly invited the Society to accept again of their hospitality, and to hold our meetings hereafter in their home. This invitation, which represents the continuation of a custom which we enjoyed for seven years while they were housed in the Boston Athenaeum, the Council has most eagerly and gratefully accepted.

The sale of the Society's Publications continues good. One or two hints have been dropped indicating that these Collections and Transactions are in real demand in public libraries and reading rooms.

One of the conspicuous things about our Society is the loyalty of the members to it; a loyalty which in many instances has assumed the form of generous financial assistance. So far as is known, no other Society can boast that twenty per cent of its publications are made possible by the outright generosity of members in its body. This is one of the hopeful aspects of our case. Even so, however, our rate of publication is limited by lack of resources. If to any member it seems that the Society is doing things that are worth while, and that should be furthered, let him not hesitate to offer his help through the notion that such help is not needed. Not alone for publications, but for an adequate Editor's Salary Fund, and, if it be not too distant and fantastic a dream, for a building and a home of our own, the Society needs money. It is because the Council believes so thoroughly in the Society, in its value and in its oppor-

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tunities, that it ventures to appear persistent in laying these needs constantly before your attention.

The TREASURER submitted his Annual Report, as follows:

REPORT OF THE TREASURER

In compliance with the requirements of the By-Laws, the Treasurer submits his Annual Report for the year ending 16 November, 1912.

CASH ACCOUNT

RECEIPTS

Balance, 17 November, 1911		$660.30
Admission Fees	$100.00	
Annual Assessments	510.00	
Commutation of the Annual Dues	100.00	
Sales of the Society's Publications	97.95	
Sales of the Society's paper	36.01	
Contribution from a member	40.00	
Interest	2,909.94	
Editor's Salary Fund, subscriptions	1,300.00	
Mortgages discharged or assigned	5,500,00	
Henry H. Edes, temporary loans	350.00	$10,943.90
		$11,604.20

DISBURSEMENTS

The University Press	$2,015.56	
A. W. Elson & Co., photogravure plates, negatives, and plate printing	188.75	
Clerk hire	82.60	
Postage, stationery, and supplies	40.60	
Boston Storage Warehouse Co.	24.00	
Andrew Stewart, auditing	10.00	
C. W. Phillips, distributing Publications	34.20	
Albert Matthews, salary as Editor of Publications	1,000.00	
Mary H. Rollins, work on Harvard Records	8.00	
Lucy Drucker, services in London at the Public Record Office	55.39	
Carnegie Institution, subscription for 1911 towards Bibliography of American Historical Writings	50.00	
Miscellaneous incidentals	414.40	
Mortgages on improved real estate in Boston	6,500.00	
Interest in adjustment	100.08	
Deposited in Provident Institution for Savings	200.00	
Henry H. Edes, temporary loans without interest, paid	350.00	$11,073.58
Balance on deposit in State Street Trust Company, 16 November, 1912		530.62
		$11,604.20

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The Funds of the Society are invested as follows:

$56,300.00	in First Mortgages, payable in gold coin, on improved property in Boston, Cambridge, and Brookline
300.00	deposited in the Provident Institution for Savings in the Town of Boston
$56,600.00	

TRIAL BALANCE

DEBITS

Cash		$530.62
Mortgages	$56,300.00	
Provident Institution for Savings	300.00	56,600.00
		$57,130.62

CREDITS

Income		$530.62
Editor's Salary Fund	$600.00	
Publication Fund	5,800.00	
General Fund	10,200.00	
Benjamin Apthorp Gould Memorial Fund	10,000.00	
Edward Wheelwright Fund	10,000.00	
Robert Charles Billings Fund	10,000.00	
Robert Noxon Toppan Fund	5,000.00	
Robert Charles Winthrop, Jr., Fund	3,000.00	
Andrew McFarland Davis Fund	2,000.00	56,600.00
		$57,130.62

HENRY H. EDES,
Treasurer

BOSTON, 16 November, 1912.

REPORT OF THE AUDITING COMMITTEE

The undersigned, a Committee appointed to examine the accounts of the Treasurer for the year ending 16 November, 1912, have attended to that duty and report that they find them correctly kept and properly vouched, and that proper evidence of the investments and of the balance of cash on hand has been shown to us. This Report is based on the examination of Andrew Stewart, certified public accountant.

JOHN W. FARWELL,
WILLIAM L. PUTNAM,
Committee

BOSTON, 20 November, 1912.

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The several Reports were accepted and referred to the Committee of Publication.

On behalf of the Committee appointed to nominate officers for the ensuing year, Dr. CHARLES M. GREEN presented the following list of candidates; and, a ballot having been taken, these gentlemen were unanimously elected:

PRESIDENT

HENRY LEFAVOUR

VICE-PRESIDENTS

MARCUS PERRIN KNOWLTON
ANDREW McFARLAND DAVIS

RECORDING SECRETARY

HENRY WINCHESTER CUNNINGHAM

CORRESPONDING SECRETARY

CHARLES EDWARDS PARK

TREASURER

HENRY HERBERT EDES

REGISTRAR

FREDERICK LEWIS GAY

MEMBER OF THE COUNCIL FOR TWO YEARS

JOHN TROWBRIDGE

MEMBER OF THE COUNCIL FOR THREE YEARS

FRANCIS APTHORP FOSTER

After the meeting was dissolved, dinner was served. The guests of the Society were Dr. Francis Henry Brown, Dr. Charles Lemuel Nichols, and Messrs. Frank Brewer Bemis, Augustus George Bullock, Samuel Chester Clough, Joseph Randolph Coolidge, Jr., Henry Howland Crapo, Francis Hen-

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shaw Dewey, Dawes Eliot Furness, Edwin Herbert Hall, Charles John McIntire, Grenville Howland Norcross, Henry Newton Sheldon, William Roscoe Thayer, Harry Walter Tyler, Winslow Warren, and Edgar Huidekoper Wells. The PRESIDENT presided.

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DECEMBER MEETING, 1912

A STATED MEETING of the Society was held in the building of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, No. 28 Newbury Street, Boston, on Thursday, 26 December, 1912, at three o'clock in the afternoon, the President, HENRY LEFAVOUR, LL.D., in the chair.[1]

The Records of the Annual Meeting were read and approved.

The Hon. WILLIAM HOWARD TAFT of Cincinnati, Ohio, was elected an Honorary Member.

The EDITOR exhibited photographs of the Boston News Letter of 9 November, 1775, taken from the only known copy of the original in the British Museum.[2] That issue consisted of a half sheet, printed on both sides. It was pointed out that some historians cite old newspapers not by their dates but by their numbers. The Editor urged that for two reasons this practice should be avoided: first, owing to the frequent errors made by the printers in numbering; secondly, owing to the fact that deliberate changes in numbering were sometimes made.

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[1] From February, 1893, to April, 1899, both included, the meetings of this Society were held in the hall of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, then in the Boston Athenæum. From December, 1899, to March, 1912, inclusive, our meetings were held in the building of the American Unitarian Association, No. 25 Beacon Street. In November, 1912, the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, having recently, through the generosity of the Agassiz family, erected a new building at No. 28 Newbury Street, courteously and generously invited this Society to hold its meetings there.

[2] Copies of the photographs have been given to the American Antiquarian Society, the Boston Athenæum, and the Massachusetts Historical Society, while the negatives have been given to this Society.

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Mr. ALBERT MATTHEWS spoke as follows:

NOTES ON THE HARVARD COLLEGE RECORDS 1636–1800

Our associate Mr. William C. Lane, Librarian of Harvard University, is constantly receiving requests for information from all sorts of people — graduates and non-graduates, men and women — on all sorts of subjects relating to the College. Since I have been engaged on the work of editing that portion of the early records which the Society will be enabled to publish through the generosity of a member, some of these requests have been turned over to me, while others have been addressed to me directly. Founded six years after Boston, sixteen years after the landing of the Pilgrim Fathers, less than a generation after the permanent settlement of Virginia, with a history stretching over nearly three centuries, and so exceeded in age by scarcely another institution in this country, Harvard College possesses a unique mass of material which is of value and interest alike to the historian, to the genealogist, to the economist, and to the student of education, language, manners, and customs. As long as this material remains in manuscript, so long will it be inaccessible to searchers; for many of the books have no indexes, and the few that have are inadequately indexed. Moreover, some books of great value have already been lost, either through fire or vandalism or carelessness, while others are rapidly going to destruction through handling or the ravages of time. Hence it is imperative that the work of printing the early records, now happily begun, should be prosecuted with dispatch and vigor. This Society is in a position to carry on this work, provided only those interested — whether or not graduates of the College, whether or not members of this Society — will furnish the requisite funds.

In the most recent account of the University Library we read:

> The collection relating to Harvard College, naturally large, is divided into two classes: (1) the archives, consisting mainly of the original manuscript records, letters, and other official papers of the College, from an early date to recent times; and (2) printed matter and manuscripts of a less official nature. In the first class, which as now bound contains 886

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volumes and bundles, there is much material of historical value. . . . The second class is much larger and includes 5,380 volumes.[1]

The second class, as it consists chiefly of printed matter, need not detain us. It may be admitted that not all the documents in those 886 volumes and bundles comprising the first class are of equal value; that some should receive immediate attention, while others may well be permitted to await their turn. The purpose of these Notes is to describe briefly only a few of those many volumes and bundles — namely, such as contain the records of the Corporation, of the Overseers, of the Faculty, etc. In the following lists, details are given as to the size of the pages, the number of pages in a volume, and the dates when entries in a volume begin and end. It should be distinctly understood, however, that in the case of certain volumes it is impossible to be either precise or accurate in these details. Especially is this true as regards dates, of which "College Book I" furnishes a good illustration. This volume begins with records extending from about 1643 to 1686; then follows a list of graduates from 1642 to 1795; then follow the Library Laws of 1736 and the College Laws of 1734; and the volume ends with some entries of an early but uncertain date. In addition, the material is often jumbled together in a haphazard way now impossible of explanation. Thus, an entry dated 1644 will be followed by one dated 1673, this by one dated 1643, and so on. Notwithstanding these limitations, it is believed that the following lists will prove useful for reference, as well as indicating what ought to be printed.

Previous to the time of President Wadsworth (1725–1737), the early volumes of records were known only by title — as "Long College Book," "Old College Book," "Old Overseers Book," "Treasurer Brattle's Book," etc. — and were always so cited by President Leverett (1708–1724) in the numerous marginal entries made by him. Six of these volumes were numbered by Wadsworth, I to VI. College Book I (known also as "Long College Book" and "Old College Book"), College Book III, and College Book IV, are described below under the heading Corporation Records. College Book II, known

[1] A. C. Potter and E. H. Wells, Descriptive and Historical Notes on the Library of Harvard University, second edition, Bibliographical Contributions of the Library of Harvard University, No. 60 (1911), p. 22.

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also as the "Old Overseers Book," was burned when the second Harvard Hall was destroyed by fire in 1764. College Book V [1] was Treasurer Brattle's Account Book, 1693–1713. College Book VI is described below under the heading Miscellaneous Records.

CORPORATION RECORDS

TITLE	WIDTH	HEIGHT	PAGES	RECORDS BEGIN	RECORDS END
College Book I [2]	6¾	16½	354 [3]	1643	1687 [4]
College Book III	9	14	170 [5]	1636	1686 [6]
College Book IV [7]	9	14	352 [8]	1686 July 23	1750 Sept. 5 [9]
College Book VII	9½	14½	346	1750 Sept. 17	1778 April 23
College Book VIII	9½	14⅝	536 [10]	1778 May 5	1803 Oct. 14

College Book I is placed under this head for convenience, though it contains Overseers' meetings and miscellaneous records as well

[1] On the recto of the first leaf is written "College Book N°. 5. In Folio." The words "In Folio," and probably the other words also, are in the hand of President Wadsworth. In addition to this "College Book V in Folio," there was also at one time a volume known as "College Book V in Quarto," as appears from various references to it by Wadsworth in the marginal entries in the Corporation Records. This volume was either burned in 1764, or has disappeared, or cannot now be identified.

[2] Also known as "Long College Book" and "Old College Book." When bound, presumably in President Quincy's day (1829–1845), the back of the cover was labelled "College Book No. 1. & 2." This was a mistake, as the volume contains College Book I only.

[3] Many pages are blank. College Book I will fill pp. 3–168 of vol. xv of this Society's Publications.

[4] College Book I also contains, besides Corporation meetings, Overseers' meetings, a list of graduates from 1642 to 1795, the Library Laws of 1736, the College Laws of 1734, and some miscellaneous records.

[5] College Book III will fill pp. 171–332 of vol. xv of this Society's Publications.

[6] College Book III also contains, besides Corporation meetings, Overseers' meetings, descriptions of College property by Presidents Wadsworth and Holyoke, specimens of College diplomas, and some miscellaneous records.

[7] When bound in President Quincy's day, the back of the cover was labelled "College Book No. 4. & 5." This was a mistake, as the volume contains College Book IV only.

[8] College Book IV will fill pp. 335–864 of vols. xv–xvi of this Society's Publications.

[9] College Book IV, though almost exclusively devoted to Corporation meetings, also contains some Overseers' meetings, an account of bequests to the College, and a few miscellaneous records.

[10] The Corporation meetings fill pp. 1–518, the remaining pages containing a few miscellaneous records.

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as Corporation meetings. The same remark is true of College Book III. There are in College Book IV also a few Overseers' meetings and a few miscellaneous records, but it contains the Corporation meetings in an almost unbroken series from 1686 to 1750. After the meeting of September 5, 1750, which occurs in College Book IV, the Corporation records are continued in College Book VII.

Overseers' Records

TITLE	WIDTH	HEIGHT	PAGES	RECORDS BEGIN	RECORDS END
Vol. I	4⅝	7¼	222[1]	1707 Dec. 4	1743 Oct. 4
Vol. II	4⅝	7⅛	300[2]	1744 July 4	1768 April 8
Vol. III	6⅜	7⅝	366	1768 May 3	1788 May 15
Vol. IV	6⅜	7¾	468	1788 May 22	1805 Sept. 12

College Book II, also known as "Old Overseers Book," was burned in 1764. College Books I, III, and IV contain various Overseers' meetings. It was not, however, until 1707 that the Overseers' records were regularly kept in books devoted to that special purpose.

Faculty Records

TITLE	WIDTH	HEIGHT	PAGES	RECORDS BEGIN	RECORDS END
Vol. I[3]	6⅛	7⅞	358	1725 Sept. 24	1752 March 3
Vol. II	7⅛	9⅜	256	1752 March 6	1766 Sept. 12
Vol. III	7¼	9⅜	266	1765 Sept. 24	1775 Jan. 3
Vol. IV	7¼	9¾	290	1775 Jan. 27	1782 Jan. 1
Vol. V	6¾	8⅝	326	1782 Feb. 6	1788 Nov. 10
Vol. VI	7¼	9⅜	365	1788 Nov. 12	1797 Aug. 17
Vol. VII	7¼	9⅛	434	1797 Aug. 30	1806 Aug. 19

The back of the cover of Volume I is labelled: "Records of the College Faculty / Vol. I / 1725–1752."[4] On the recto of the first leaf is written, probably in the hand of Tutor Flynt: "A booke for Re-

[1] Besides these 222 pages, there are fourteen unnumbered leaves containing miscellaneous records.

[2] The Overseers' Records fill pp. 1–296, the remaining pages containing miscellaneous records.

[3] In the Faculty Records, the names of the scholars begin with the class graduating in 1729. With the class graduating in 1732, the residence and year of age at entrance are first given. With the class graduating in 1741, the residence and full date of birth are first given.

[4] The binding is of course not old, since the word "Faculty" was not used until many years later.

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cording the Acts & Agreem^ts of The President & Tut^rs in Harv. College 1725." On the recto of the third leaf, page 1, is this entry in the same hand: "Harv^d College Oct. 30th 1725 Agreed by the President and Tut^rs That the Orders & agreem^ts of Presidt & Tut^rs be from Time to Time recorded in a book and that the said book be present at the meeting of Presidt and Tut^rs about College affaires."

Miscellaneous Records

Title	Width	Height	Pages	Records Begin	Records End
Leverett's Diary	5⅝	7	274	1707 Oct. 28	1723 Aug. 23
Wadsworth's Diary	5⅞	7⅜	138	1725	1736 Oct. 1
Hollis Book	8	12½	82[1]	1719	1790
Hopkins Book	5¾	7¼	242	1727	1854

Among the College archives are the above four important volumes. One has written on a fly-leaf at the end these words: "The children of the late Doctor Wigglesworth, present this manuscript volume, with their best respects, to the Corporation of Harvard College. 1797." The inscription on the back of the vellum cover is difficult to decipher, but apparently reads as follows: "Pres / Leverett / Gift of Dr. / Wiggles- / worth's / Children". There is in the book itself no title, but the volume is usually known and cited as "President Leverett's Diary." The word "Diary" is a complete misnomer, inasmuch as the volume is not a diary at all, but is really a book of College records. It is wholly in the hand of President Leverett, and contains certain meetings of the Corporation which are not in the Corporation Records themselves. Hence it supplements the latter.

The second volume is labelled on the back of the parchment cover "President / Wadsworth / 1725–1736". On page 1 are the words: "Benjamin Wadsworth's Book (A. Dom. 1725) relating to College affairs." There is no other title than this, but the volume is usually known and cited as "President Wadsworth's Diary." Again the word "Diary" is a misnomer, as the book is really a volume of College records.

The third volume is variously called College Book VI or Hollis Book. On the recto of the first leaf is written, certainly partly and

[1] The volume contains about 129 leaves, but they are mostly unnumbered and blank. Pages 1–63 contain records, as do nineteen other pages.

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probably wholly in the hand of President Wadsworth, the words: "College Book N°. 6. in Folio." [1] On page 1 is the following entry in the hand of Wadsworth:

Anno Dom. 1726. This Book belongs to Harvard College
in Cambridge in New England.
At a Meeting of ye Corporation of Harvard College at
Cambridge April. 4. 1726.

'Voted, that m^{r} Treasurer procure a Book, into which shall be trans-'mitted, and a Register kept of, m^{r} Hollis's Rules, Orders, Gifts & Boun-'ties past and to come; together with ye names, age, and charecter of 'his scholars, the time of their Entry & dismission; and also all ye Votes 'of ye overseers & Corporation from time to time relating to ye said 'orders, Bounties and scholas of ye said m^{r} Hollis.[2]

Pursuant to ye Vote above, this Book was procured by ye College Treasurer at the College charge. An. Dom. 1726.

I shall therefore Insert m^{r} Hollis's orders &c

The Hollis Book supplements the Corporation Records and contains matter not in the latter.

The fourth volume may be called the Hopkins Book, under which name it is frequently cited in the Corporation Records. The back of the cover is labelled "Hopkins Classical School", but the binding is not old. On February 28, 1726–7, the trustees of Edward Hopkins's legacy voted to desire "the Corporation of Harv^{d} College to Nominate and Present four suitable Persons resid^{t} at the College to receive three fourths of the Income of said Legacy and also five boys to be instructed gratis in grammar Learning in the School of Cambridge," and on March 8th the Corporation voted that certain students and boys were to be presented to the trustees.[3] On the recto of the first leaf of the Hopkins Books is written, in the hand of President Wadsworth: "HOPKINTON 1726 This book belongs to Harvard College, it cost five shillings & six pence on March. 23. 1726/7. & was bought to record ye transactions of ye Corporation with reference to Hopkinton affairs." Like the Hollis Book, the Hopkins Book sup-

[1] Why the words "in Folio," which are certainly in the hand of Wadsworth, should have been added does not appear, for so far as is known there was no other book labelled College Book VI.

[2] This paragraph is copied from College Book IV, p. 113.

[3] College Book IV, p. 120.

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plements the Corporation Records and contains matter not in the latter.[1]

In addition to the volumes described above, there are in the College archives Treasurer's Accounts, Steward's Accounts, Donation Books, and other volumes containing College records. How many, or what portions, of these are worth printing is a question not easily answered and may well be left for future consideration and determination.

On behalf of Mr. JAMES K. HOSMER, a Corresponding Member, extracts were read from some appreciative reminiscences he had written on the late Dr. Horace Howard Furness, also a Corresponding Member. Interesting and entertaining is Mr. Hosmer's account of his first meeting with Dr. Furness:

Dr. Furness was three months my senior, and coming from what was then thought to be distant points, he from Philadelphia and I from Buffalo, both sons of Unitarian ministers[2] who had gone out from New England, we met as boys of seventeen under the Harvard elms. Our first contact was significant of his character. He was a sophomore, I a freshman, and when shortly after my arrival I found standing on my threshold a light-haired, square-built youth, of manner prompt and incisive, who announced himself as of the class of '54, I was for a moment disquieted. A story was going the rounds of a sophomore who had a cushion made of leather from the cover of the stolen Chapel Bible and stuffed with freshmen's hair. The grewsome report was that a cushion of that kind was the proper thing in each sophomore's room. Was my visitor perhaps the pre-

[1] In addition to the four volumes described in the text, there is also a volume labelled on the back of the parchment cover "H.Flint". On the cover is written: "Presented to the President and Fellows of Harvard College by the Children of the late Jonathan Jackson Esq by whom this Mss was owned, and who was a relation of Doc[r] Flint 1813". This is the book usually known and cited as "Tutor Flynt's Diary." It contains 275 unnumbered leaves, measures 6¼ by 7⅛ inches, and is a commonplace-book rather than a diary. The entries appear to run from 1707 to 1747. As a whole the book is probably not worth printing, though perhaps selections might be made.

[2] Rev. William Henry Furness (H. C. 1820) and Rev. George Washington Hosmer (H. C. 1826).

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cursor of a hazing party, and was I to be shorn that cushions might be filled for our natural foes? The incentive to Furness's call proved to be a far different one. My father had among his parishioners Millard Fillmore, then President, who in kindly fashion had shortly before appointed my father to a chaplaincy in the Navy. My father, abounding in spiritual graces and an overflowing household, but not otherwise well-to-do, nevertheless declined the proffered place. He could accept it and not leave his pulpit except for a pleasant vacation cruise now and then with easy duties. It ensured a handsome increase to his salary which his crowding family was taxing heavily, and involved little labor or inconvenience. My father however in those days was a peace man, and besides disinclined to nibble at the public crib while rendering no adequate service. He remained firm in his refusal, a course, I may say, which won him the thorough regard of Mr. Fillmore, a very good man. His stand, though much criticised and ridiculed, won approval from many high-minded men; and lo, when my sophomore visitor had introduced himself and taken his seat, he forthwith explained that he had heard the story of my father's refusal of the chaplaincy, that he admired the act, and had come to make acquaintance with the son of that man. Though many thought the minister's scruples over-nice, the boy Horace Furness judged differently, and the boy was the father of the man.

Continuing, Mr. Hosmer said:

The acquaintance thus formed did not grow into intimacy, though my contacts with him were frequent. We were both members of the Institute of 1770 and of the Hasty Pudding Club. I do not recall that he showed much interest in the dramatic activities of the latter organization. We were together members of the Chapel choir, the place in which our harmony resounded being the present Faculty Room, a room then quite large enough for the entire undergraduate body, although now scarcely large enough for the teachers. It is a beautifully proportioned hall, in those days holding on its floor settees for the four classes, whom vigilant proctors watched from a raised seat at the side. At the southern end curved a deep gallery, where sat professors and their families, Felton, Benjamin Peirce, Longfellow, and the rest, their vis-à-vis in the choir loft at the north

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[illegible] dozen youths who shared the service with the ve[illegible] [illegible] the pulpit immediately below. Furness was the [illegible] [illegible] carrying the part always clear and strong, while [illegible] [illegible] him a somewhat quavering and uncertain [illegible].

Mr. Homer concluded with a tribute to Dr. Furness as "[illegible] chief of Shakespearian scholars in America, probably in the world."

Mr. SAMUEL ELIOT MORISON read the following paper:

THE PROPERTY OF HARRISON GRAY, LOYALIST

When going through the manuscripts of the old Federalist leader, Harrison Gray Otis, preparatory to writing his biography, I found extant a number of letters of the years 1785-1794 between the then youthful Otis and his Tory grandfather, Harrison Gray, relating to the latter's property. This correspondence throws an interesting light on the methods by which the Loyalists of the American Revolution were despoiled of their property, and on the character and views of the victim, a now forgotten Tory who was once considered of sufficient importance by his fellow-citizens of Massachusetts to receive fourth place on a list of "notorious conspirators" drawn up by the General Court.

Harrison Gray was born in Boston on February 24, 1711.[1] His father, Edward Gray, emigrated from Lincolnshire to Boston at the age of thirteen, in 1686, as a simple apprentice, but in the course of time became the owner of extensive rope-walks near the present North Station, the profit from which enabled him to bring up a family of nine children in considerable luxury. By the time of his death he used a coat-of-arms and had acquired a place in the colonial aristocracy; and he left, besides his rope-walks, an estate valued at £5,500, including ten negro slaves.[2]

Edward Gray married in 1699 Susannah Harrison of Boston, after whose family this son was named Harrison Gray. Harrison was brought up for a mercantile career, and established in business

[1] Boston Record Commissioners' Reports, xiv. 79.

[2] M. D. Raymond, Gray Genealogy, p. 130, with portrait.

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H. Gray

Engraved for The Colonial Society of Massachusetts
from a portrait by Copley
in the possession of Harrison Gray Otis Esquire

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by his father. In 1750, however, he was elected a representative to the "Boston seat" in the General Court of Massachusetts, which apparently gave him a taste for public life. After two years' service he was chosen in 1753 Treasurer and Receiver General of the Province, a well remunerated office[1] of great dignity that was the gift of the General Court. In that position he must have given satisfaction, for he was annually chosen to it for twenty-one years; and for several years subsequent to 1766 was also elected to His Majesty's Council for Massachusetts Bay.

The list of debts outstanding to Harrison Gray when he left Boston in 1776 indicates that he possessed a large private income, and numerous entries in the gossipy diary of John Rowe show that he knew how to enjoy it. He was a member of the delightful society that enjoyed dinners and house parties at the Inmans' and Vassals' and Royalls'; he belonged to the "Fire Club" and the "Number Five Club," and he passed many a merry evening with John Rowe, Nicholas Boylston, and other choice spirits over a pipe and a bowl of punch at the British Coffee House or the Bunch of Grapes. In 1734 he married Elizabeth Lewis, daughter of Ezekiel Lewis, another prosperous Boston merchant, and by her had four children, Harrison, Lewis, John, and Elizabeth. In the 1760's the Grays became closely connected by marriage with the leading patriot family of Otis. Harrison's younger brother John married in 1761 Mary Otis, daughter of Colonel James Otis, and sister of James the Patriot, General Joseph Otis, and Mercy Warren; and in 1764 his only daughter Elizabeth married Samuel Allyne Otis, the youngest member of the same brilliant family. The Samuel Allyne Otises named their eldest child, born in 1765, Harrison Gray Otis after his grandfather, and through his numerous descendants, direct and collateral, the name of Harrison Gray has been transmitted to the present generation in America.

[1] In 1772 Harrison Gray enjoyed a salary of £267 lawful and £120 for his "extraordinary services" (MS Records of the General Court, xxx. 218–220). Various other extras made the office worth over £400 lawful, so he afterwards testified before the Loyalist Commission in London. (Proceedings of Loyalist Commissioners, Lincolns Inn Fields, 1784, printed from the original MS, now in the Library of Congress, in the Second Report of the Bureau of Archives, Ontario, 1904, p. 1217. It may be noted that in these Proceedings the name of Harrison Gray appears as "Gray Harrison.")

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When we first find Harrison Gray's name mentioned in connection with the political disputes between the Crown and the Colonies, he was a somewhat shaky member of the popular or Whig party. He had good friends on both sides, for politics had not yet broken up friendship and social groups. With the Otises and Adamses he was a member of the Monday Evening Club — "politicians all," as John Adams said — that met weekly in the British Coffee House to discuss politics. After one such discussion in 1765, John Adams noted in his diary that "Gray has a very tender mind, is extremely timid. He says, when he meets a man of the other side, he talks against him; when he meets a man of our side, he opposes him; — so that he fears he shall be thought against everybody, and so everybody will be against him."[1] The Treasurer put himself on record, however, as a fairly decided Whig, when in 1765 he signed the address drawn up at town meeting to thank Colonel Barré and General Conway for their "noble, generous, and truly patriotick Speeches at the late Session of Parliament, in favor of the Colonies, their Rights, and Privileges;"[2] and when, the following year, he subscribed £20 toward Samuel Adams's Land Bank debt.[3]

Soon after this, however, Harrison Gray began to gravitate toward Toryism. John Adams afterwards ascribed his apostasy to Whiggery to the death, in 1766, of his political and religious mentor, the high Whig clergyman Jonathan Mayhew. "Had Mayhew lived," wrote Adams in 1815,[4] "it is believed that Gray would never have been a refugee. But the seducers prevailed, though he had connected his blood with an Otis." The worthy Treasurer was indeed susceptible to ecclesiastical influence — a trait of his recorded by Trumbull's satiric muse in a stanza of M'Fingal[5] — and some letters of his that have been preserved show that he regarded

[1] Works, ii. 163.

[2] Boston Record Commissioners' Reports, xvi. 157.

[3] New England Historical and Genealogical Register, xxii. 106.

[4] Works, x. 193.

[5] Canto First (1775), p. 18:

What Puritan could ever pray
In godlier tone, than treas'rer Gray,
Or at town-meetings speechify'ng,
Could utter more melodious whine,
And shut his eyes and vent his moan,
Like owl afflicted in the sun?

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the death of his favorite preacher as a public and private calamity.[1] He even tried to make amends for his loss by offering his hand to the widow Mayhew — Mrs. Gray having departed this life in the same year with the Reverend Doctor.[2] However, Harrison Gray's subsequent Loyalism is explicable without believing, as John Adams did, that he was "seduced." Men of means and established position, although liberal in their ideas, naturally gravitate toward conservatism when the issue is fairly joined between rebellion and loyalty. Self-interest would have induced the Treasurer to remain a Whig, for his tenure of office was dependent on the popularly elected General Court. But the natural feelings of the wealthy merchant asserted themselves. He believed that Parliament had conceded enough in repealing the Stamp Act, and, abhorring the boycotts and riots, and other illegal means employed by the Patriots, he saw no cause for excitement when tea was assessed threepence the pound. Although not entirely satisfied with the existing régime, he feared the consequences of violent opposition.

Treasurer Gray therefore took no part in the measures of opposition to the Townshend Acts, in which many of his friends and relatives were leaders. He continued, however, to frequent the same houses and clubs as before. John Adams gives an amusing account in his diary of a friendly dinner-table argument between Harrison Gray and John Hancock, at the Hon. John Erving's, in 1771:

> January 10. Thursday. Dined at the Honorable John Erving's with Gray, Pitts, Hancock, Adams, Townsend, J. Erving, Jr., G. Erving, Boardman. We had over the nominations of Nat. Hatch, to be judge of the common pleas, and Edmund Quincy, to be a justice of the quorum, and H. Gray's story of a letter from a repentant whig to him.
>
> *H. Gray.* "The General Court is a good school for such conversation as this." That is, *double entendre*, affectation of wit, pun, smut, or at least distant and delicate allusions to what may bear that name.
>
> Gray said he could sometimes consent to a nomination when he could not advise to it, and, says he, "I can illustrate it to you, Mr. Han-

[1] Hollis MSS (Massachusetts Historical Society), fols. 95, 124–126; A. Bradford, Memoir of Rev. Jonathan Mayhew, pp. 431–434.

[2] Bradford, p. 438 note.

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cock; — Suppose a young gentleman should ask his father's consent, that he should marry such a young woman, or a young lady should ask her father's consent that she should marry such a young man. The father says, I cannot advise you to have a person of his or her character, but, if you have a desire, I wont oppose it; you shall have my consent. Now, Mr. Hancock, I know this simile will justify the distinction to a young gentleman of your genius."

A light brush happened, too, between Pitts and Gray. Pitts hinted something about the strongest side. Gray said, there were two or three of us, last May, that were midwives, I know; but you have been always of the strongest side; you have been so lucky.[1]

Until the time came when there was no middle ground, Harrison Gray was, according to his grandson, a Tory "of mild and moderate principles, and even popular from his known aversion to violent measures."[2] His appointment was annually renewed, even in 1774, by the General Court, where the Whig party was supreme; but I suspect that this was due quite as much to the fact that he accommodated several Patriot leaders by advancing their salaries out of his own pocket when the provincial treasury was empty, as to his popularity and integrity. Gradually he became a more decided Tory. We find him at the Old South, on the eve of the tea-party, opposing the excited proposals of Josiah Quincy by a tactless warning that "such language would be no longer borne by administration; that measures were in train which would bring the authors of such invectives to the punishment they deserved."[3] Afterwards in a town meeting he vainly attempted to persuade his fellow-citizens to pay for the tea lying at the bottom of Boston Harbor.[4]

On May 10, 1774, news arrived in Boston of the five coercive measures by which Parliament intended to punish the rebellious town. The two most important were the Boston Port Act, sealing up the port of Boston until compensation for the destroyed tea should be made to the East India Company, and the Massachusetts Government Act, suspending the Province charter, and providing that the Council should henceforth be appointed by the Governor, on a

[1] Works, ii. 251.
[2] Letter of H. G. Otis in Boston Columbian Centinel, June 9, 1830.
[3] Quincy, Memoir of Josiah Quincy, Jr., 125.
[4] Loyalist Commission, p. 1216.

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legal writ of *mandamus*.[1] A few days later General Gage arrived with the appointment of governor, and four regiments at his back to enforce the new régime. These measures crystallized the two parties. For Harrison Gray especially no compromise was possible, for his name appeared sixth on the list of *mandamus* Councillors, which General Gage published on the ninth of August. Following what he deemed to be his duty, he accepted the call. It meant that he recognized the right of King and Parliament to suspend at will the rights and liberties of Massachusetts Bay. Its immediate consequences were estrangement from most of his friends, loss of his position, and unwelcome attentions from the mob; its final consequences were confiscation of his property and a permanent separation from friends and country.

Harrison Gray resigned his position of Treasurer and Receiver General within a month of his acceptance of a seat on the *mandamus* Council,[2] and in October of the same year the revolted Provincial Congress at Watertown finally deposed him from office.[3] Shortly afterward he took up his pen in the Loyalist cause, and published, in January, 1775, a pamphlet entitled "A Few Remarks upon some of the Votes and Resolutions of the Continental Congress, Held at Philadelphia in September, and the Provincial Congress, Held at Cambridge in November, 1774. By a FRIEND to Peace and good Order."[4] A second edition was also published, with the more succinct title of The Two Congresses Cut Up.[5] He dwells on the "Gross, Immoral, Nature" and the "Malignant, Atrocious, Nature" of the tea-party, and states that the American Association to pre-

[1] By the Province charter, the Council was annually chosen by the whole legislature, and subject to the veto only of the Governor.

[2] Letter of John Andrews (1 Proceedings Massachusetts Historical Society, viii. 354).

[3] Massachusetts Province Laws, v. 507.

[4] Republished, with comments, by Dr. Samuel A. Green in the Magazine of New England History (1892), ii. 42. Another pamphlet, published in Boston in 1775, with the title "Observations on the Reverend Pastor of Roxbury's Thanksgiving Discourse," by a "Friend to Peace and Good Order," is probably not by Harrison Gray. The style is much more facetious and humorous than that of the Treasurer; the author attacks parsons in a way that Gray would be unlikely to do; and in his enumeration of his services to the Crown before the Loyalist Commission in London, Gray mentions only the "Two Congresses Cut Up."

[5] The only copy of this edition that I have found is in the Library of Congress.

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vent all commerce with Great Britain is "no better than if a number of *villains* should enter in an association to go upon the highway, and rob every gentleman they should meet, with a *pious* design to relieve their poor brethren who were suffering in Newgate for their crimes." These performances of course only served further to inflame popular hatred against their author. The Pennsylvania Journal of February 8, 1775, refers to it as a "Despicable pamphlet lately published in Boston, now commonly called the Grey Maggot."

During the siege of Boston Harrison Gray, like all Boston Loyalists who were willing to stand up for their principles, remained within the beleaguered town. Early in March, 1776, when the evacuation by the British troops was decided upon, he joined the swarm of Loyalists, who thinking that "neither Hell, Hull, nor Halifax" would be worse than remaining to face the enraged and victorious patriots, set sail for the last-mentioned locality.[1] He took with him his sons Harrison and Lewis, and left behind his son Jack, a madcap young Loyalist of twenty, in the Newburyport jail, and his only daughter, Mrs. Samuel A. Otis, broken-hearted at the separation from her father and brothers, and by no means in sympathy with the cause her husband had embraced.[2]

Shortly after his arrival at Halifax, the ex-Treasurer wisely abandoned that dreary provincial town for London, the very centre and source of Loyalty and its rewards. There he seems to have led a fairly comfortable life. Together with the Hutchinsons, Clarkes, Sewalls, and other Massachusetts Loyalists, he belonged to a dinner club that met weekly at the Adelphi, Strand; and he is frequently mentioned in the diaries of Samuel Curwen and Edward Oxnard in company with those and other bon vivants among the proscribed Tories.[3] He enjoyed an annual pension of

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[1] Van Tyne, Loyalists of the Revolution, p. 57.

[2] S. E. Morison, Life of Harrison Gray Otis, chap. ii.

[3] Oxnard writes in 1776: "Judge Sewall invited me to dine with him, & I did myself the pleasure of accepting the same. Good haddock & roast beef for dinner, after which Mr. Blowers was sent for, & we had a fine bottle of Florence together. Mr. Bliss & Treasurer Gray dropt in, & from Mr. Gray we learnt that he was likely to suffer as Provincial Treasurer, having been threatened with a prosecution for a provincial note of £1400, if he should refuse to pay it himself." Again, "Invited by Judge Sewall to dine & accepted the invitation. We had boiled Turkey & oyster sauce, — a saucy dish in this country. Spent the even-

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£200,[1] which, though small in comparison to his previous income, was sufficient for his wants; and he certainly had no regret for the step he had taken. On March 1, 1777, he wrote his brother John Gray, who had adhered to the Patriot cause, that he was sorry his brother's spirits were so low, but he was confident that the glorious period was hastening when "you will be emancipated from the tyrannical, arbitrary, congressional government under which you have for some time groaned. A government for cruelty and ferocity not to be equalled by any but that in the lower regions, where the prince of darkness is president, and has in his safe custody a number of ancient rebels, who are reserved in chains of darkness to the judgment of the great day!"[2]

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ing at Treasurer Gray's" (New England Historical and Genealogical Register, xxvi. 121, 254).

[1] Loyalist Commission, p. 1217. In 1830 an accusation was made that Harrison Gray carried off to England a considerable sum of Province money, that came into his hands as treasurer. Harrison Gray Otis took it upon himself to refute this charge in the Columbian Centinel, June 9, 1830. The points that Otis makes in his grandfather's defence are: (1) That he had never heard of such a charge, and that if there had been the slightest evidence of defaulting against his grandfather, the patriots would certainly have worked it for all it was worth. (2) That had there been evidence of defaulting, it would have been charged against the estates of the Treasurer at their sale. (3) That in October, 1774, when the Provincial Congress superseded Harrison Gray by Henry Gardner, the treasury was entirely empty on account of the failure of the towns to pay their taxes in the last few years. This statement is confirmed by an examination of Harrison Gray's books, which he left behind in his office in Boston. They were examined in April, 1776, by Ezekiel Price, who found nothing amiss (Diary, 1 Proceedings Massachusetts Historical Society, vii. 254); were turned over to Henry Gardner by a legislative resolve of May 7, 1776 (Massachusetts Province Laws, v. 711); and are still kept in the State Treasurer's office. The Ledger for 1771–74 shows that in October, 1774, a large proportion of the Province taxes for those years was still due, often as much as one-half. The town of Gorham owed £238 out of £313. In most cases none of the taxes for 1773 had as yet been paid. John Adams in his diary, under date of May 3, 1771 (Works, ii. 260), accuses Gray of not counting the public money "these twenty years," — a charge which arouses to righteous wrath Mr. J. H. Stark (Loyalists of Massachusetts, p. 334). It is not to be taken seriously, however, since it was made while Adams was angry at receiving notice that Treasurer Gray had withdrawn his patronage, and "determined to have nothing more to do with me." According to the records in the Massachusetts Archives, Gray squared his accounts with the Province in 1770.

[2] Austin, Life of Elbridge Gerry, i. 269. Similar sentiments are expressed in a letter of August 1, 1791, from Gray to the Rev. Mr. Montague (MS in New

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The smoke from Concord Fight had hardly cleared away before the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts turned its attention to the rich harvest that awaited them in the disposal of Loyalists' real and personal property. On May 17, 1775, a Resolve was passed and published ordering that no one should take a "deed, lease, or conveyance of lands houses or estates of Mandamus Councillors."[1] After the evacuation of Boston, a committee was appointed to inventory and take possession of the real and personal property in Boston belonging to departed Tories, and to sell the perishable part of the property. Under date of July 6, 1776, Elizabeth Gray Otis informs her father: "The Committee has taken most of your Estate into their hands, what remains Uncle Jackson[2] says you have ordered him to sell. Wish you had carried more of your Effects with you, hope and pray you may be well provided for, to say the least I think Colo. Murray treated me very ungenteelly in carrying off so many of our things, but these are strange times."

Harrison Gray was included in the Banishment Act of October 16, 1778, declaring him subject to imprisonment if he returned to the State, and "death without benefit of clergy" for a second offence; and he was given the compliment of fourth place, after Bernard, Hutchinson, and Oliver, on a select list of twenty-nine "Notorious Conspirators" whose estates were declared confiscated by an act of April 30, 1779.[3] Articles I and VI of the Definitive Treaty of Peace with Great Britain, which was proclaimed by Congress on January 14, 1784, provided that Congress should earnestly recommend the legislatures of the respective States to restore all confiscated estates, rights, and properties, belonging to British subjects, and "that there shall be no future confiscations made." Massachusetts so far complied with the recommendation as to repeal a second law of April 30, 1779, confiscating estates of absentees, but

England Historical and Genealogical Society, quoted in Loring, Hundred Boston Orators, p. 192).

[1] In the following résumé of Loyalist legislation I have made use of the excellent summary in A. McF. Davis, John Chandler's Estate, chap. iii.

[2] Joseph Jackson, who married Harrison Gray's sister Susannah. This letter is from a copy of the original made by the recipient, and returned by one of the Grays to H. G. Otis many years later.

[3] Massachusetts Province Laws, v. 966.

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[illegible] Concord Fight had hardly cleared away [illegible] [illegible] ress of Massachusetts turned its atte[illegible] [illegible] that awaited them in the disposal of Lo[illegible] [illegible] property. On May 17, 1775, a Resolve was [illegible] [illegible] forbidding that no one should take a "deed, lea[illegible] [illegible] lands house or estates of Mandamus Counc[illegible] [illegible] the evacuation of Boston, a committee was appointed to [illegible] [illegible] and take possession of the real and personal [illegible] [illegible] belonging to departed Tories, and to sell the [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]. Under date of July 6, 1776, Elizabeth [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]: "The Committee has taken most of your [illegible] into their hands, what remains Uncle Jackson[2] says you [illegible] him to sell. Wish you had carried more of your Effects with [illegible] home and may you may be well provided for, to say the le[illegible] [illegible] Cols. Murray treated me very [illegible] in carrying [illegible] of our things, but these are strange times."

Harrison Gray was included in the Banishment Act of Oc[illegible] 1778, declaring him subject to imprisonment if he returned [illegible] State and "death without benefit of clergy" for a s[illegible] [illegible] and he was [illegible] the compliment of fourth place, after B[illegible] Hutchinson, and Oliver, on a select list of twenty nine "N[illegible] Conspirators" whose estates were declared confiscated by [illegible] of April 30, 1779.[3] Articles I and VI of the Definitive Tre[illegible] Peace with Great Britain, which was proclaimed by Cong[illegible] January 14, 1784, provided that Congress should earnestly [illegible] mend the legislatures of the respective States to restore all [illegible] cated estates, rights, and properties, belonging to British su[illegible] and "that there shall be no future confiscations made." Ma[illegible] chusetts so far complied with the recommendation as to [illegible] second law of April 30, 1779, confiscating estates of absentees, [illegible]

England Historical and Genealogical Society, quoted in Loring, Hundred [illegible] Orators, p. 1[illegible].

[1] In the following résumé of Loyalist legislation I have [illegible] [illegible] lent summary in A. McF. Davis, John Chandler's Estate, chap. iii.

[2] Joseph Jackson, who married Harrison Gray's sister Susan[illegible] [illegible] is from a copy of the original made by the recipient and [illegible] Grays to H. G. Otis many years later.

[3] Massachusetts Province Laws, v. 968.

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Harrison Gray Otis in 1785
Engraved for The Colonial Society of Massachusetts
from a miniature in the possession of
Mrs. John Holmes Morison

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the "Notorious Conspirators" were expressly excluded from the benefits of this act, and threatened with imprisonment if they returned to America.[1] In this matter of Loyalist legislation Massachusetts was no better nor worse than other States of the Union.[2] It would be unjust to blame the States for preventing the absentee Loyalists from returning to America. The Loyalists as a body were a talented and upright set of men, but politically they would have formed an irreconcilable and disaffected class, and increased greatly the political difficulties of the new republic. By their espousal of the British cause they made themselves aliens to the United States, and as such, the States in their sovereign capacity had full right to exclude them. But this does not excuse the injustice and wrong inflicted in confiscating the Loyalists' property. That was a measure not only out of accord with the accepted international law of the period, but unfair in itself, and moreover, it fastens on the Patriots the perpetual stigma of selfishness and sordid motives in promoting the great cause of independence.

Hopeless as the prospect seemed for rescuing any of his American property, Harrison Gray, now seventy-three years of age, began to look about for an agent to undertake the task. This was no easy thing to find, for no lawyer with the slightest desire for a political career cared to have anything to do with the unpopular Tories; and most lawyers of that period were politically ambitious. In 1786, however, he found an ideal agent in the person of his grandson and namesake, Harrison Gray Otis, then twenty-one years of age. Young Otis had graduated from Harvard College in 1783, and, after a course of study in the office of John Lowell, had been admitted to the Suffolk Bar. Since his father had gone bankrupt in 1784, Otis had to support himself, and he was most glad to be appointed a wrecking agent for his grandfather's estate. The young lawyer conducted his grandfather's affairs with such success as to receive another Tory client: Mrs. Susannah Boutineau, a sister of Peter Faneuil, the widow of James Boutineau, late *mandamus* Councillor and "notorious conspirator;" and he received occasional commissions from another *mandamus* Councillor, Robert Hallowell, and

[1] A. McF. Davis, John Chandler's Estate, p. 57.

[2] Cf. list of laws directed against the Loyalists of the different States in Appendix C to Van Tyne's Loyalists.

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from a Tory cousin, Mrs. Elizabeth Brown, the daughter of James Otis.

Before the British Loyalist Commission, in 1784, Harrison Gray made the following statement of the property he had owned at the outbreak of the Revolution.

Two houses in Westerly Street, Boston, purchased for £333.6.8 in 1757. "These Houses are now in the Possession of his Son in Law. Who writes him that they may be sold & therefore desires to have a deed for them. Says that the Americans found his Will by which he had devised the houses to Eliz his Daughter & wife of Saml. Allen Otis for Life & his children. They have therefore permitted Mr. Otis to remain in it, . . . Mr. Otis has taken part with the Americans & does not doubt his keeping Possession of the Houses, he therefore does not claim them as a Loss."

"Three houses in Cornhill, Boston," for which he paid £1533.14 in 1765.

"A Tract of Land in Colchester," purchased from John Denny for £100 Lawful in 1766.

"A Right & Share of Land in New Boston Conveyance, 2nd June 1767, from Wm. Story," 300 acres, worth £30 sterling.

"Furniture Lost, £75. Horse £40. Chaise £35.[1] Seven 9 pounders, 4 three pounders, he values them at £207." [Did the Treasurer fortify his house?]

"States Debts, Princip. & Interest £2336.8.3."

"500 acres good land in Hamps."[2]

Taking up the various items separately, at least one of the two houses in Westerly Street was apparently retained by Samuel Allyne Otis, who in 1780 petitioned the General Court to have the "house he now occupies (said to be a part of the estate of Harrison Gray, Esq., an absentee)" confirmed to him. The legislature, evidently unwilling to lose all hold of the confiscated property, "*Resolved*, that Samuel Allyne Otis, Esq., be and hereby is permitted to occupy the house he now lives in until the further order of the General Court, any Resolve to the Contrary notwithstanding, and that

[1] The horse and chaise were used by Joseph Warren at the outbreak of hostilities, and confiscated by resolve of the Provincial Congress shortly after Bunker Hill (Sabine, Loyalists, i. 488).

[2] Loyalist Commission, pp. 1215–1217.

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the said Otis have liberty to make such necessary repairs as he may judge sufficient to prevent the said house from ruin."[1] In any case, this piece of property was probably lost when Otis went bankrupt.

Samuel A. Otis also purchased one of the three brick dwelling houses on Cornhill, which were sold at auction in 1780 under the confiscation act of the previous year.[2] The other two went to J. Stanton and David and Jonathan Harris, all three bringing the State £35,600.[3]

Since the land in Colchester is not mentioned in the Otis-Gray correspondence, it had probably been confiscated also, and was therefore beyond recovery. In this connection Otis wrote his grandfather on June 2, 1789:

> You seem to intimate that all laws in force against the Refugees must be repeald, and the priviledge of Citizens be allowed them. I have no doubt but any of that number coming to this Country may be naturaliz'd without difficulty and also that those whose estates were not absolutely confiscated may recover their debts. But with regard to those who in this State are distinguishd in the Conspirator Act, I must confess I do not think they will ever be enabled to retreive their property here, as the confiscation of it is considered as perfect and compleated before the peace. However should a contrary construction be admitted, I should sincerely rejoice.[4]

The Vermont and New Hampshire land, however, was not irrecoverable, and furnished plenty of occupation for the young lawyer. The 300 acres in the New Boston Conveyance from William Story, that Gray mentioned before the Commission, were not all that he was entitled to from that gentleman. Under date of Sept. 28, 1787, Harrison Gray writes his grandson concerning some lands in Vermont:

> In a letter to my Brother dated Febry. 28, 1785, I enclosed him a deed from William Story for about Eight thousand Acres of Land at Bernardstown, but to my Surprise I have been informed that the pious Mr

[1] Resolve of May 4, 1780.

[2] J. T. Hassam's transcripts of the Suffolk Probate Records (2 Proceedings Massachusetts Historical Society, x. 172).

[3] Massachusetts Archives, cxxxix. 468.

[4] This and other letters from Otis in this article are quoted from Otis's MS letter book. Letters to Otis are quoted from the originals in the Otis MSS, unless otherwise noted.

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Story finding the Deed was not upon record, sold the Lands a second Time, to Colo. Jonathan Grout of Petersham, who recorded the Deed. If the Law is open in your State to punish such *Villains*, I beg you will take proper Steps to have justice done me. I know nothing of his circumstances, but altho' he should not be able to pay me the full of my demand, I would have such a hypocritical fellow exposed, unless he will compound the matter with you, which I submit to your discretion. The Deed to Col. Grout I believe is recorded in the State of New Hampshire. Mr. Giles Alexander of your City can give you Information concerning it.

Story's two Notes of hand I have also sent to my Brother by Capt Davis, when your wicked tender act is repealed, you will meet with no difficulty to compel him to do "Justice" and if he reflects upon the atrociousness of his Crime in regard to the Lands, unless he has a very complaisant conscience he will walk "humbly."[1]

"The pious Mr. Story," however, was inclined neither to do justice nor to walk humbly, for in 1789 Otis writes that he is "still a pious villain," and in 1790 that "Old Story is not worth a farthing, & if he had the mines of Peru, I believe he would endeavor to chouse you out of your demand." In subsequent letters he is described as a "deep noisy vociferous old villain, and I wish you to think what advantage can accrue from suing him, — he being almost a beggar & quite a knave," — and there this matter rested.

The history of Harrison Gray's New Hampshire land is a longer one. The "500 acres good land in Hamps." were the so-called Gridley Farm in Peterborough, New Hampshire, which Harrison Gray obtained by a judgment on a mortgage from Richard Gridley, the son of the original proprietor.[2] The farm was a fine tract of land, including the rich meadows along the lower Nubansit River.[3] Harrison Gray had unfortunately refused £400 for it in 1774, and Colonel Willard testified before the Loyalist Commission that he had sold similar land in the neighborhood for 40 shillings per acre.[4] Naturally, when the war began, the honest yeomen of Peterborough

[1] Proceedings Massachusetts Historical Society, xli. 436–437.

[2] Loyalist Commission, p. 1216.

[3] It is the tract marked "A" in the original proprietors' map (reproduced in Albert Smith, History of Peterborough).

[4] Loyalist Commission, p. 1217.

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began to cast longing eyes on these rich lands belonging to a Tory absentee, whom they considered a traitor to his country; but as New Hampshire had passed no general confiscation act,[1] it was necessary to find some ingenious method to rob the absent Tory owner of his property.[2] The local authorities of Peterborough conceived in 1779 the happy scheme of buying in the entire tract for the town under cover of a public vendue to pay overdue taxes. About seven of the five hundred acres had already been sold to pay the taxes for 1777, and as the taxes for 1778 amounted to only £10.15.9, it was necessary by artificial means to increase the costs and charges in order to justify in some degree the sale of the entire lot. The town constable, Robert Morison (according to the testimony furnished by his cousin, Jeremiah Smith), therefore "went around" (surveyed) the 500 acres "with as many assistants, as the law would (so they thought) allow;" but as this did not sufficiently increase the costs to the sum of £75 for which the town authorities had decided to buy in the farm, "They then adjourned to the next day, increased their strength and upon calculating the next evening, they had overshot the mark as far as they came short the day before. But the town very generously paid the Constable the whole of his charge, tho' it exceeded the proceeds of the sale."

The auction of Harrison Gray's property was advertised in Peterborough and the two adjacent towns for the morning of August 16, 1779. No hour was mentioned, as the law required, but the town constable let it be generally known that the hour would be ten o'clock. Intending bidders who arrived shortly before that hour, however, were told that the farm was already sold. "*Out-of-town* witnesses," wrote Jeremiah Smith, "will swear that the vendue was before nine o'clock and that those who came from other towns had not a fair chance, that some were bo't with rum, some flattered, and some

[1] And Harrison Gray, not being a native of New Hampshire, was not included in the "Act to confiscate Estates of sundry persons named" of November 28, 1778.

[2] The following account is taken from an unsigned, undated memorandum in H. G. Otis's handwriting. The testimony was undoubtedly furnished by Jeremiah Smith, later Governor of New Hampshire, and at that time practising law in Peterborough; for Otis in a letter to him dated March 31, 1790, asks for another copy of the testimony in regard to the Peterborough land that he furnished him "sometime since."

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threaten'd out of their right of bidding." Only two persons bid, and the Gridley farm was knocked down to the town's agent, James Templeton, for three shillings per acre. The following bills for incidental expenses, which Jeremiah Smith recovered, show how ridiculously low was the price, in that period of depreciated continental currency:

The purchaser Templeton charges the Town in account with the money paid the constable for the towns use —	£46
To his time 3 days in purchasing Gridley farm	24
To 1 Quart Rum	2.16
Blanchard charges Town with rum deld Templeman [*sic*]	1.16
Major Wilson at whose tavern the vendue was held charges the Town with expence of purchasing the Farm the rum drank I suppose	£18

These charges paid, the town of Peterborough found itself in legal possession of a very handsome piece of property, which the authorities proceeded to divide up into lots and sell off gradually at auction.[1] As the local minister was at that time in want of a parsonage, the town voted, on January 25, 1780, that he "have his choice of lotts no. 2 and no. 3 in Gridley's farm one of which is to be Granted to him by the town . . . the lot that he shall chuse to be well seeded and fenced all which is to be in full for the par[s]onage heretofore Granted him by sd town."[2] No wonder that when Harrison Gray heard of these proceedings, he wrote his grandson somewhat pungently:

As I have suffered so much by the villainy of your State who have deprived me of all the property I had which came to their knowledge, for no other Crime than my obedience to those who were in lawful Authority, I am not much surprised that their example should be followed by the Town of Petersboro'. As they have settled a Gospel Minister upon my Lands, I hope in the Course of his preaching; he will give them a sermon upon this Text — "Righteousness exalteth a Nation, but Sin is a reproach to any people." As you say the sale was fraudulent, I should have had no objection to your ejecting the Tenants provided it could be done at a reasonable expence, but the enormous Sum

[1] Peterborough Town Records (MS), i. 57, 83.
[2] i. 58.

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of one hundred & fifty pounds is too large a sum to sport with to recover the Sum of three or four hundred pounds when the Event of the Action is uncertain. I therefore decline a legal Investigation however my child I herewith enclose you the necessary papers. If you can amicably compound the matter with the Town, I have no objection, but if they refuse, and you think it worth while, you may commence a suit at your own expence and if you are so fortunate as to recover Judgment, I do hereby give you a quit claim to the premises.[1]

Harrison Gray lost nothing in giving away his Peterborough land to his grandson. "My Peterborough gift will come to nothing," Otis wrote him in disgust, "as those fellows are so versed in iniquity that I shall be cheated out of it."

On June 26, 1794, Otis wrote Jeremiah Smith:

It was my intention to have renewed my conversation with you on the subject of the Peterboro' Lands, but accident prevented me from the pleasure of seeing you a second time in Boston. You may recollect it was my wish the last year that the town would appoint a Committee to treat with me for my title and you seem'd disposed to favor the project as equitable & likely to conduce to an eventual termination of the controversy. I am not less disposed than ever to listen to any reasonable terms of accomodation, but as it might be more convenient for both parties to treat on the spot, I have concluded to go to Peterboro' in the course of the next month and make the last effort for a peaceful accomodation in person. It would give me satisfaction to meet you at home, as your presence and opinion would be influential with both parties. I will therefore thank you to say at what time in the month of July after the I may be certain of meeting you in Peterboro'.

Although there is no further mention of this matter in the Otis papers, it is safe to assume that Otis's visit to Peterborough was fruitless. The whole affair is a good illustration of the effect of a civil war on regular conceptions of justice and morality. Robert Morison, the constable who had so important a part in this fraudulent transaction, was a deacon of the church, and the other persons concerned were respectable farmers and strict Calvinists. But in their eyes Harrison Gray had forfeited all his property rights by becoming an enemy to his native country, and any means were justi-

[1] Proceedings Massachusetts Historical Society, xli. 437.

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fiable in order to vest the title of his farm in the hands of loyal patriots. Possibly, however, if Deacon Morison had been able to foresee that one of his great-grandsons would marry a descendant of Harrison Gray, he would not have been so eager to despoil the latter of his "500 acres good land in Hamps."

Besides being charged with saving his grandfather's confiscated property, Otis was entrusted with the collection of numerous debts, both by Harrison Gray and by Mrs. Boutineau. Article IV of the Treaty of Peace provided that "creditors on either side shall meet with no lawful impediment to the recovery of the full value in sterling money, of all bona fide debts heretofore contracted." Most of the States disregarded this obligation, which Congress was entirely powerless to enforce; and some, Virginia for instance, expressly provided that debts to British subjects could be discharged by paying one-tenth of the principal into the State treasury.[1] In Massachusetts, however, as Hammond, the British minister, acknowledged, "where great property was at stake, justice has been liberally dispensed, and, notwithstanding a particular regulation of the state warranted the deduction of that portion of the interest on British debts which accrued during the war,[2] the courts, in conformity to the plain terms of the treaty, have admitted and directed the quantum of the demand to be regulated by the original contract: and where the contract bore interest, or the custom of the trade justified the charge, the full interest has been allowed to British creditors, notwithstanding the intervention of war."[3]

Measures sequestrating British debts, similar to those passed in other States, were constantly threatened, however, in the General Court of Massachusetts. Otis writes Harrison Gray, February 9, 1789:

You will be however surprizd when I tell you that a question has been started in our Courts, "whether bonds & notes formerly due to the *Conspirators* & renew'd in the names of *other people* may not be avoided." Should this be adjudged against you, the whole will be irretrievably sunk, but I have no idea that such a decision will obtain. Affairs in this

[1] Cf. Henning's Statutes of Virginia.
[2] Act of November 9, 1784.
[3] Note of March 5, 1792, Wait's State Papers, i. 198.

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country are gradually returning to good order, and men getting rid of their embarrassments, because more disposed to do justice.

The danger of such legislation became greater in 1794, when relations with Great Britain reached the verge of rupture. On June 30 of that year Otis wrote a résumé of the situation to his grandfather:

It is my expectation, this fall, or at farthest next spring, to collect and remit to you all that will probably ever be realized in this country and to close my accounts, unless some unfortunate event should happen to prevent, which is not impossible. What I allude to is the measures which have been or may be adopted by this State relating to the Debts of Absentees. This business has never slept quietly, but certain persons have been constantly attempting to enforce the payment of those debts into the treasury, and even compel agents to account for monies by them remitted. You will naturally presume that I have not been wanting in my endeavors to prevent these measures; but in spite of the exertions of myself and my friends, a Resolve of a disagreeable complection [1] has passed the Legislature which I now enclose and as late events have revived the animosity against Great Britain & all who espousd her cause, this may be merely a prelude to acts still more rigorous & severe.

Such, then, was the situation in regard to Loyalists' (and other British subjects') debts: — full power of recovery, but sequestration constantly threatened. Coming down to detail, Harrison Gray sent his grandson in 1787 a list of the outstanding debts owed to him in America, amounting to £8,035.18.7 Lawful.[2] Included were —

Sam A. Otis his Note to which his father was surety,	£675.
Your hond Father's bond for	1371.14
His Note hand	271.16.9
Ditto	150.

[1] He probably refers to a resolve of February 18, 1794: "Whereas notifications are required by the act entitled 'An act for confiscating the effects of certain persons called Absentees,' and the same may have been duly issued and served but may afterwards have been accidentally lost or mislaid. . . . *Resolved* That whenever a judgement or confiscation on said act shall be questioned in the Supreme Judicial Court for failure of record of the issuing service and return of the notification . . . the said Court . . . hereby are authorized . . . to admit otherwise than by the record, evidence of the issuing service, and return of the notification aforesaid" (Resolves of General Court, ix. 43).

[2] Printed in Proceedings Massachusetts Historical Society, xli. 438.

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These entire sums were lost, as at the time of his father's bankruptcy Otis was too young to know about his affairs and enter a claim on his property in his grandfather Gray's behalf; and the administration of the estate of his grandfather Otis, the surety for the first-mentioned note, paid legacies before debts, after which the remainder was lost through the bankruptcy of General Joseph Otis, to whom it was entrusted.[1]

It is not necessary to enter into details in regard to most of the other debts. Some of the debtors died poor; others paid up in part, or assigned real estate in lieu, after much dunning by Otis. Judgments, minus the war-time interest, were recovered against others. With Mrs. Boutineau's debts, Otis was also fairly successful, in one case actually taking possession of the estate of a debtor in Newton, and selling it to the tenant. Needless to say, all these transactions were carried on under assignment of the debt to Otis; the knowledge that a hated "Conspirator" was back of it all would have prejudiced juries in favor of the debtor, although the legal right of recovery would not have been affected.

Most interesting of all the items in Harrison Gray's estate, both for the amusing letters it called forth from the old gentleman and the side-lights it throws on a prominent character, was the John Hancock debt. This debt was created shortly before the Revolution, by Treasurer Gray advancing £956.16.5 sterling from his private purse to John Hancock for his accrued salary as member of the General Court, in return for Hancock's note. Apparently the Treasurer was in the habit of doing this in the years just preceding the Revolution, when the treasury was in a chronic state of emptiness, owing to the failure of the towns to pay their taxes promptly. Many other such debts were paid him shortly after the Revolution, and some remained unpaid in 1830.[2] During the siege of Boston, Harrison Gray recovered a judgment against Hancock on this note, and was put in legal possession of three of his houses, valued at £1875 sterling.[3] After the evacuation, the houses naturally fell back into Hancock's hands, and Gray was left with nothing to show for the debt. "As Mr. Hancock is a Gentleman of honor,"

[1] Otis to Harrison Gray, June 2, 1789.
[2] Statement of H. G. Otis in Columbian Centinel, June 9, 1830.
[3] Loyalist Commission, p. 1216.

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he wrote Otis in 1787, "I hope he will settle the Judgment of Court I recovered against him to your satisfaction. I write you so fully upon this subject by Capt. Davis that there is no occasion to add anything further I shall only say that 'Sugar catches more flies than Vinegar.'" [1]

"Sugar" being administered freely by Otis, and proving of no avail, Harrison Gray tried both methods in a letter to Hancock himself. This was sent to Otis to forward, and it still remains among his papers.

LONDON July 31st 1789

SIR

For many years when we were the happiest people under Heaven we lived together in the habits of friendship, and notwithstanding we did not entirely harmonise in our political principles yet I always had a regard for you as a Gentleman of strict honour integrity and *benevolence*, insomuch that you would have been the last person that I would have thought capable of availing himself of an act of Government to avoid the payment of an honest debt. Your conscience, must tell you good sir, that no legislative acts can cancel moral obligations.

Your Excellency no doubt remembers that in July 1775 I obtained a Judgment against you for upwards of nine hundred pounds the Execution of which Judgment was levied on three of your houses, which by appraisment were set off to me in full satisfaction of the Execution in consequence of which I had the legal possession of the premises for a number of years. But in the year [2] as you was one of the members who represented the Town of Boston, by your influence you got that Judgment set aside; in order to accomplish which, and to prevent the opposition which would otherwise have been made to your *novel* and *illegal* motion you openly declared in the House you would discharge the note of hand upon which the Judgment was founded. You have also given encouragement to my Grandson Mr Otis from time to time that you would satisfy my demand: Notwithstanding which I have not received one farthing to this day but lay entirely at your mercy; for were your courts of Justice open to those who are called notorious conspirators against a State *before it had an Existence*, I could not avail myself of the aforementioned note of hand as it is not to be found in the clerk's office. Who the person was that was guilty of this *Theft* I know not, neither

[1] Proceedings Massachusetts Historical Society, xli. 436.

[2] Date omitted. Hancock was in the General Court in 1778 and 1779.

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will I hazard an opinion concerning it, however I cannot but think that it lays your Excellency under an additional obligation to pay your old friend what you justly owe him, whatever plea you may hitherto have availed yourself of for your neglecting to do this act of Justice. No plea will stand you instead hereafter, but your inability to pay your debts. Should this be a fact, that you have sacrificed a large fortune in supporting a cause which you looked upon to be just and righteous, I do assure you good sir I am far from having an Inclination to distress you was it in my power, but shall add this loss to the many sufferings I have endured for my firm unshaken loyalty to my *King*. I do assure your Excellency, that the cool reflections on the conscientious part I early acted in the late unhappy dispute between Great Britain and her Colonies affords me the most exalted pleasure and is a source of consolation to me under the loss of my property of which I have been unjustly deprived, A pleasure which I would not part with for all the honors which your *State* could bestow. However, though you acted a different part from me and I hope upon principle, I congratulate you upon your re-election to the chief seat in Government. May you discharge the duties of your exalted Station with honor and reputation, and use your endeavours that those acts of your State which militate with the definitive Treaty be repealed.

I sincerely congratulate you and my dear native country upon federal constitution being so generally approved of which in my opinion is the only measure, that could have saved you from commercial and political ruin, but whether you will ever enjoy more rational liberty than you did when subordinate to the mild and lenient Government of Great Britain, is a question which I don't pretend to have prophetic knowledge sufficient absolutely to determine, but could I be assured I should live to that period I believe I should be immortal.

Upon the whole notwithstanding your delay to pay me I cannot yet make up my mind to charge you with being destitute of honor and Justice, but flatter myself you will settle the demand I have against you with my attorney, altho there is no law that will compel you to do it. But should you be of opinion that the act of confiscation is just and righteous, you have no right to avail yourself of it, but as an honest man you ought to pay into the public Treasury what you justly owe me.

I expect the Honor of an Answer to this letter which will prevent my making the contents of it more public, than at present I desire, as it must hurt the reputation of a Gentleman who formerly stood high in my Estimation.

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No act or resolve of the nature Gray described was passed while Hancock was in the legislature; probably the judgment in question was overruled by an appeal to a higher court. Hancock cannot be blamed in either case, since the original judgment was rendered by an obviously partial court in Boston during the siege. The moral obligation for him to repay the debt remained of course unimpaired; but for Otis to attempt to enforce it was bound to be a hopeless, if not a dangerous task. As we know from the episode of Hancock's treasurership of Harvard College, financial integrity was not among the virtues of that eminent patriot.[1] At this date (1789) moreover, Hancock had been Governor of Massachusetts for several years, and had reached the pinnacle of his power and popularity.[2] Although good-natured, it was in his power to blast the political aspirations of anyone who annoyed him. When we find that at the same date the Harvard Corporation found it advisable to approach Governor Hancock in terms of the most abject flattery, when requesting him to square his long outstanding accounts with the College, we can understand that it took no little temerity on the part of young Otis to undertake to recover his Tory grandfather's debt.

Otis described the situation in a letter of April 17, 1790, to Harrison Gray:

HOND & DEAR SIR,

Your favor by Capt Scott & a duplicate by Bernard are now before me. The principal enquiries which are the object of that letter you will find I have answer'd in my last, to some of them however I will endeavour to afford a more explicit reply. Your letter to Govr. Hancock I did not deliver, the signature being omitted as well to the original as to the Copy. Had this not been the case I should still have exercised the discretion you allowed me and retained the letter. I mean never to sacrifice the independence of my sentiments or to relinquish my freedom of action through an apprehension of exciting the resentment of any man, when my honor or the interest of my employers may be impared by a contrary conduct. Still it is the part of prudence in a young man to refrain from provoking aversion & opposition in instances which may be detrimental to himself and advantageous to nobody.

[1] Quincy, History of Harvard University, ii. 182–209, 509–524; L. Sears, John Hancock.

[2] Cf. A. E. Morse, Federalist Party in Massachusetts, pp. 19–21.

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The letter indeed contains none but the most defensible expressions and remonstrances. They were adapted however to inflame the quick & jealous feelings of Mr H. Circumstances have conspired to render him a very susceptible man in some points; a very callous man in others. He has been nursed in the lap of fortune, accustomed to the flattery of the whole people, and cajol'd by artful men into expences which have diminished his fortune & perhaps his importance. His weaknesses are indulged, his foibles applauded and his measures universally supported. Such a man you may readily conceive can only injure a young person obliged like myself to work upon the hill of life, and it is natural enough that he should become arbitrary and overbearing in some instances of his conduct. No good consequences will result from alarming his pride or rousing his anger on the other the debt must by such means be forever lost. I shew'd your letter to several of my friends and to two or three persons who are well disposed towards you, and who know his character. They were all of opinion that he will never pay that debt *as a right*, but being furnish'd with popular and specious reasons arising from his situation and from the circumstances of the debt he would resist a positive demand, as inconsistent with the *duty he owes the State*, and make a tender of the debt to the Commonwealth, which would probably allow him to pay in State notes of 6/ in the pound or altogether release it, in which event neither you nor yours would derive any advantage, but by exciting a spirit and disposition of enquiry might not only injure your own demands but those of your friends in this Country. Depend upon me when I assure you that no point can be more clearly settled by our courts than the Doctrine that all the property of a certain class of Absentees was ipso facto confiscated & is seizable to the use of the Government whenever or wherever it may be found.[1] And to this Idea however injurious or repugnant to treaties (a point which I do not undertake to decide) those persons who have demands in these circumstances must as they value their interest accomodate & Submit. These traits in the character of M^r H—— are I believe undeniably just. They are however diversified by others of a more promising nature. He is naturally liberal & loves the appearance of generosity. His friends have suggested to me that he may be swayed by feelings of compassion while he setts threats at defiance. I hesitate in explaining myself upon this head. I am not in the habit of asking

[1] A committee of the General Court reported in March, 1804, that the treaty of peace had no effect on the confiscation of absentees' property, even if the confiscation had not been made by that date. Resolves of Massachusetts, xi. 150.

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favors or even of appearing to ask them, even of a Grandfather whose candour & parental affection I have no reason to distrust. The reluctance I feel in exposing myself to the possible imputation of being *interested*, has a long time prevented me from adopting a measure, which is probably the only one that will succeed & to which I was advised two years ago. Viz. To request from you an assignment of the demand & then to state as I can with truth, that the events of war & misfortunes have despoiled me of the fair prospects of inheritance which I once enjoyed. That the property of both my Grandfathers has vanish'd into air, that however he may think himself Justified, by the laws of the State which he governs from making retribution *to you*, yet those principles cannot apply to your descendants, that the rescue of even a small part of your property from destruction would be an object to me, & finally that I will accede to his own terms, give him up part of the debt and accept the residue in eastern lands. This I believe is the only property he has free from encumbrances, and might (if he would agree) at some future day be useful to me. And this *upon my honor* is the only chance, as I learn from Col. Hichborn which I have of securing any part of it, and this I am by no means sure will succeed. You will however judge for yourself & if under all circumstances taking his embarrassments into view you prefer gratifying a laudable resentment by publishing your comments upon his Conduct, and giving the debt to the Commonwealth, I have not a word to object. One reflection however will occur viz that whatever tendency your reproaches might have to lessen his Character in England & among good men in this Country, they would perhaps produce a directly contrary effect among numbers in this Country, and really so far from being a punishment might promote his popularity. But my dear Sir, whatever may be your decision, whether to try further for this Debt yourself, or to give it to me or to the Commonwealth or to nobody, I conjure you by your regard for me, to shew this letter to *no* one but my uncles and afterwards to commit it to the flames. I must not make enemies myself without serving my friends."

In consequence of Otis's refusal to forward his grandfather's letter to the Governor, the old gentleman sent Hancock a somewhat emasculated copy of the original on July 3, 1790.[1] About the

[1] This letter, rescued from the wreck of the Hancock papers, is in the possession of Mr. Charles P. Greenough, who kindly allowed the writer to use it and the following.

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same time Otis sent the Governor the following missive of labored politeness:

Mr. Otis begs leave to inform his Excellency that Judge Sullivan has again returned, and as the Boston Packet sails on Wednesday, being the last vessel destined for London, he intreats his Excellency to have the condescension to attend to his request. Mr. Otis cannot describe the anxiety he feels to have this affair settled in one way or another. He knows not what to write to his friend. The Delay of a day or two, in case of accident will make a difference to Mr. O—— in his prospects through life. He is confident that his Excellency is not capable of deceiving him, but the adjustment has been procrastinated in a most peculiar manner. He is confident that if his Excellency would admit him to an interview it might be settled in five minutes. His Excellency has only to name a sum. It will not be a subject of discussion or remark — much time could not be requisite to frame a note and a release. Should the settlement be longer delay'd, Mr. Otis can only regret that some fatality attending him in spite of his utmost exertions to conduct with delicacy and respect, has induced his Excellency to take a less interest in his feelings and wishes, than the magnanimity of his character would inspire in any similar instance.

Monday, A. M.[1]

No result coming from this attempt, further remarks were called forth from Harrison Gray, who apparently refused to consider the assignment of the debt to his nephew. The letter that follows is eminently characteristic of the ex-Treasurer:

LONDON, January 3d 1792

DEAR GRANDSON

The bill for fifty pounds which you last sent me drawn by William Gray on Harrison & Co, is honourably discharged. My reversionary Interest in the Estate which my Brother John left me and my children I have no objection to dispose of, provided that my dear Sister Gray consents; As you have my power of Attorney, I see no occasion at present for sending you another. You may assure Cousin Daws, if he makes a purchase of any part of the premises, that my children will sign any release that he shall send them upon the monies being remitted. Mr Hallowell confirms what you intimate concerning Colo. Turner's Influence with

[1] Hancock MSS. The letter is undated, but was probably written between 1790 and 1792, as Otis's letter of April, 1792, refers "to my former communication."

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Governor Hancock, and says no one could exert himself to serve me in this respect more than you have done, for which you have my thanks, though not attended with the success we had reason to expect. I am sorry that a Gentleman for whom I had so great a respect for his honour and integrity should have no greater claim to those Virtues, than the *pious* Mr. Story, If he can meet his Judge at the *Great Day* with confidence, without repentance and restitution, if it is in his power, no public robber need to be discouraged, there being so great a similitude in their crimes. The Governor if he knows anything of Theology, must know, that if I had justly forfeited my Estate, by the wicked Act of confiscation, it was forfeited to Government, and consequently he has no right to avail himself of any part of it — And if he thinks I have been justly deprived of it, he ought as an honest man to pay to Government what he owes me; I hope the Gentleman before he is summoned to make his appearance at the awful Bar of divine Justice, will be blessed with an awakened conscience which will convince him, that it is his duty to discharge his obligation, without which he may assure himself, *The Romish Bishop*, who stands so high in his Estimation, will not be able to absolve him.[1]

It affords me great pleasure my child to hear of the Christian as well as the political opposition you made to the motion in your Town meeting to petition the General Court for the repeal of the Act against *plays*.[2] If your Legislators have any regard for the morality of the people, they will not give the least countenance to the Stage, which by the late Doc. Tillotson is called the *Devil's Chappel;* and which is condemned by the primitive Church. The Fathers have given their Testimony against it; I could quote many extracts from the holy Fathers condemning plays, but shall content myself with one from St *Chrysostom*, who in his preface to his commentary upon St. John's Gospel, speaking of Plays and other public Shews says "But what I need I branch out, the Lewdness of these spectacles and be particular in description, for what's there to be met with but Lewd laughing, but Smut, railing and buffoon'ry? in a word it is all Scandal and confusion. Observe I speak to you all, Let none who partake of the holy Table unqualify themselves with such mortal Diversions."

I must again my child repeat my desire that you would let me know

[1] A reference to Bishop Cheverus, the gifted Catholic prelate, whose reception into good society in Boston aroused the ex-Treasurer's deepest indignation. Cf. Loring, Hundred Boston Orators, p. 193.

[2] A reference to Otis's part in the controversy then raging in Boston over the legality of theatrical performances. Cf. S. E. Morison, H. G. Otis, chap. iii.

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what sum Colo. Partridge gave you his note for, and whether you have settled with the Executors to Rogers? When is it likely your County Treasurer will be able to discharge the obligation his predecessor gave to Mr. Goldthwait? [1]

I add no more at present save my love to your Father and Mother [2] and your dear Consort, not forgetting my dear Grandchild Miss Eliza. Gray. If she should have any occasion for any money for her necessary Expence, you will be so good as to supply her, and charge me with it, and let me know what it is.

God bless you my dear Grandson

H. Gray.

On receipt of this prompter, Otis decided to try the effect of another letter on the impervious Governor. It was written in the last week of April, 1792:

Sir

Having waited for a reply to my last application to your Excellency for the payment or security of the debt of honor due to my Grandfather, to the utmost extent of time and patience which decency or propriety could require — after repeated encouragement, assurances and appointments continued for a series of three years, in which my hopes and expectations have been often excited and as often baffled, I am compelled with infinite regret to confess that I am absolutely disheartened from any further attempts of a pacific nature to obtain this debt. With unwearied assiduity I have essayed all the modes of respectful address, and made every appeal to the honor and generosity of your Excellency. With an obstinacy that has subjected me to ridicule I have protested against the assurances of some of your Excellency's Friends, that all my endeavours to secure payment would be ineffectual, & that your Excellency meant merely to amuse me. It was impossible for me under all circumstances to give Credence to such assertions, or to suppose your Excellency capable of condescending for a moment to mislead or deceive one who had never in any way merited such treatment. I have stated the necessity of a decision upon this subject in terms, and placed it in attitudes which discovered the importance of it to my friends & to myself — and I have the handwriting of your Excellency not indeed in plain english, but in expressive Latin to assure me that justice should be done. My requests have not even extended to the fulness of equity. Interviews have been appointed by your Excellency's nomination, and

[1] Another debt of the same character as John Hancock's.

[2] Otis's stepmother.

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before the arrival of the destined hour, I have received messages announcing tidings of your Excellency's Illness,[1] & importing that at a more convenient season I should be honoured with an interview. This convenient season has not yet arriv'd; and when I ventured to remind your Excellency by calling of my own accord at your House, my unfortunate and illtimed presumption has been reproved by refusals to see me and an entire forbearance to make a new appointment. Your Excellency I trust will excuse my recital of these facts. It is by placing them and they are mere uncolored outlines in one view that I hope to convince your Excellency I have reason to complain. I meant not to disuse the language of Respect to the Chief Magistrate, but I have no hopes or fears that can restrain me from using the Language of Truth to any Individual in the Community. It is long since I received the most positive directions to obtain a legal decision on the subject of this debt from a federal Court, not that my friends have sanguine expectations of success here, but in order to produce an adjudication upon a fair statement of all facts, as a foundation for retribution from the Court of Great Britain. I have delay'd obedience to these injunctions through a fond opinion that honor & generosity which I have believ'd to be predominant features in your Excellency's character would induce a more amicable arrangement. Your Excellency will judge of the success of my motives and of the reasonableness of my despair. It is rendered now my indispensable duty to inform your Excellency that, I shall commence a suit for the amt of the debt at the Circuit Court to be holden in Boston in May next, unless your Excellency sees fit either to sign one of the notes, or pay the money. Possibly the Event of this suit will be adverse to my claim, upon principles that raise up one man and humiliate another, & which perhaps are politically wise and necessary, but which shake not the eternal laws of right and justice. It is however in these principles alone that your Excellency would find refuge or apology in avoiding this debt, and if these principles as a rule of private conduct will stand the test upon the midnight pillow, in the hour of pain and infirmity, and in the contemplation of those future Scenes where Justice will exhibit herself without the aid of definition and use her sword in defiance of earthly tribunals, I am sure I cannot blame your Excellency for living upon the property of my family, and supplying your luxuries from our necessities. If on the other hand, not only the institutes of

[1] One more instance of the convenient "indisposition" with which Hancock was wont to be overcome when there was anything disagreeable or embarrassing to be done: viz. the ratifying Convention of 1788, and Washington's visit to Boston in 1789.

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religion command us to forgive our Enemies, but those of delicacy and honor forbid our remaining under unnecessary obligations to them. And if the Laws of liberality and candour prohibit us to rank among our personal Enemies, those who have merely differed from us in opinion — it will be difficult for your Excellency to allow another application upon this subject.

Otis was evidently much pleased with this performance, for he wrote his grandfather on May 1:

Last week my patience being fairly exhausted and absolutely despairing of our Great Man's debt, I wrote him a letter in a style to which he is quite unaccustomed, in which after reminding him of the circumstances of the debt, of his promises falsehoods and evasions, I menaced him with a suit at our next federal Court. To this letter I have received no reply, nor do I expect any. He is a mean contemptible pageant, and I do not believe he enjoys the esteem of any man on earth . . . The Legislature in the last Session passed an act providing a mode of naturalizing those persons who had been proscribed, but the Governor would not assent to it.[1] This barefaced malignity I impute to his fear that it would gradually open a door to the recovery of the property not actually paid over by those persons to the Government. Another act was also passed of a different complection, inviting all those who are indebted to those persons to come forward and pay the principal into the treasury and be discharged from the residue, and forbidding them to pay their debts to the original creditors. This act was procured through his wicked influence, but it will not affect your concerns here as I have renewed all the notes that will ever be recovered, except the County note, which I shall not suffer them to know to be your property, if possible to conceal it.

Mr. Otis's beautiful composition was, however, of no avail, even on the "midnight pillow" and "in the contemplation of those future Scenes." Governor Hancock died in 1793 without having discharged the smallest portion of the debt.

Harrison Gray wrote his grandson on February 3, 1794:

I hope the widow of your late Governour Hancock will discharge the honest debt, he owed me, and make no doubt you will exert your self to have justice done me. If she refuseth to come to a reasonable com-

[1] Skinner's bill "directing mode of naturalization of conspirators, refugees, and proscribed persons." Enacted March 6, 1792, vetoed March 10 (MS Journals Massachusetts House of Representatives, xii. 296, 311).

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position, you know the federal court is open, where I can obtain judgment against her. The same difficulty cannot in point of prudence prevent your prosecuting her, as it did from commencing a Suit against her late Husband. I should be glad my dear Child if you would as soon as possible, send me my account Current. It affords me pleasure to hear that my dear countrymen have no inclination to assist the french *highwaymen, Murtherers* and *Robbers*

Although neither the handwriting nor the diction of the above letter shows signs of great age, it was written just before Harrison Gray's eighty-third birthday. The old gentleman was becoming too feeble any longer to attend to his business affairs, and Otis's next letter on the subject of the Hancock debt, dated November 30, 1794, is written to Harrison Gray, Jr.:

With respect to Hancock's debt, I have again conversed with Mrs. H & with Mr May. They are apprehensive that if they settle with me, difficulty will arise on the part of the heirs and that the Judge of Probate will not allow their accounts, as the debt is not due to my Grandfather. They intimate further that should they ever be induced to make any payment in this account, they shall insist upon my indemnifying them by a bond against the Commonwealth; & this you could not expect me to do, without countersecurity in this country, or at least giving me an Interest in the sum received, equivalent to the risque, as it would always be in the power of an enemy to give me trouble and expose me to refund the whole sum. In short I have taken such unwearied pains with regard to this debt for years past, I have experienced such disappointment deceit & falsehood, that I have almost despaired of receiving a farthing. I will not however relax my exertions in the business, while a glimpse of hope remains, upon this or any other occasion it will afford me sincere and heartfelt pleasure to see you in this Country, to which nothing shall be wanting on my part to make you welcome.

Harrison Gray did not live to triumph over the heirs of his debtor. His long and eventful life came to an end in London on November 30, 1794, and it remained for his son, Harrison Gray, Jr., to enjoy with Otis the very clever device by which the latter secured partial payment from the Governor's widow. It is related in Otis's letter of June 17, 1795:

Soon after the departure of the last full ships I review'd my application to Mrs. H on the score of Mr H's debt. As all former arguments

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had failed, it occurred to me that some advantage might arise from the intended connection of Mrs H and Capt Scott,[1] especially as an idea prevailed of her intention to accompany him to England. I therefore gave intimations which I knew would reach her ears, of a determination to prosecute for the debt in England, if Mr Scott should ever be found there after marriage, and this suggestion though it could never have been executed, very unexpectedly produced its effect, and induced the parties concerned to hearken to terms of accomodation. It was finally agreed to pay me £600 L My in five per Cent Stock which was then from 18/ to 19/ in the £ and take from me a bond to indemnify them against the claims of the Commonwealth which I have executed in the penalty of £1200. The Stock has lately risen and I have sold it at par. Your offer to allow me a fourth part of what I might obtain is certainly liberal, as respects other debts but under existing circumstances it is by no means too considerable for the risque and trouble in this particular Case. No man but myself would execute such a bond for. 25 per Cent, as it would probably be impossible for you to give me counter security in this Country and evil disposed persons may improve it as a source of injury to me and my family. However I shall be satisfied with that allowance if it is extended to all that I have done as well as what I may hereafter effect. Upon this subject I wish you to be more explicit tho' I conceive this to be the meaning of your expressions. Inclosed is my account, whereby it appears that I have sav'd more from the ruins of my Grandfather's fortune than all the agents of all the proscribed Absentees together, excepting the instance of Mrs. Boutineau, for whom I likewise acted.

Such was the amusing ending of this curious affair. After twenty-one years, two-thirds of the original debt was recovered from the Patriot's widow by the Tory's grandson, who was certainly entitled to his twenty-five per cent for his success in the very risky business of recovering the property of Harrison Gray, Loyalist.

On behalf of Mr. JOHN WOODBURY, a Memoir of WILLIAM TAGGARD PIPER was communicated, which Mr. Woodbury had been requested to prepare for publication in the Transactions.

[1] Capt. James Scott, who commanded one of Hancock's vessels before the war, shortly afterward became the second husband of Mrs. Hancock (née Dorothy Quincy).

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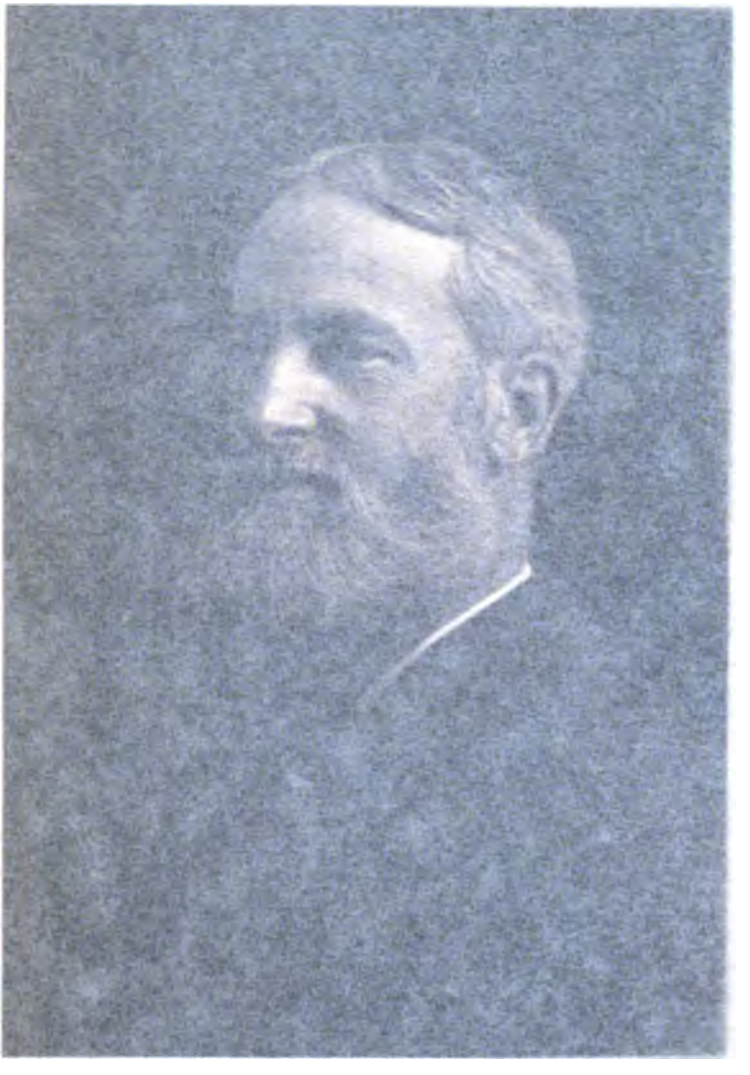

William Taggard Piper

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[illegible] Mrs. [illegible] as [illegible] to [illegible] [illegible] a determin[illegible] [illegible] could ever [illegible] [illegible] could [illegible] [illegible] and [illegible] [illegible] Cent Stock which [illegible] a bond to [illegible] [illegible] which I have [illegible] [illegible] and I have [illegible] part of what I might [illegible] [illegible] existing [illegible] for the risque and trouble [illegible] execute such a [illegible] for you to [illegible] disposed persons may [illegible] However I shall be [illegible] I to all that I have done as [illegible] you to be [illegible] of your expression [illegible] that I have [illegible] [illegible] of [illegible] [illegible] the instance of Mrs. [illegible]

[illegible] [illegible] was recovered [illegible] Patriot's [illegible] who was [illegible] titled to his [illegible] the [illegible] business of [illegible] of Harrison Gray, Loyalist

On behalf of Mr. [illegible] WOODBURY, a Memoir of [illegible] TAGGARD PILER [illegible] which Mr. W[illegible] had been requested to prepare for publication [illegible] Transactions.

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[1] Capt. James Scott, who commanded one of Hancock's vessel[illegible] war, shortly afterward became the second husband of Mrs. Hanc[illegible] [illegible]othy Quincy).

William Taggard Piper

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MEMOIR

OF

WILLIAM TAGGARD PIPER, PH.D.

BY

JOHN WOODBURY

WILLIAM TAGGARD PIPER, who died on July 25, 1911, had been a resident member of the Colonial Society since his election in January, 1894. He was interested in the work of the Society and constant in his attendance at its meetings. In the report of the Council presented to the Society at its annual meeting in December, 1911, he is described as "a rarely conscientious and desirable man who brought to the discharge of his various philanthropic duties a deep sense of responsibility, a valuable experience and a lofty devotion." He was born in Boston on August 9, 1853. Solomon Piper, his father, was a well known and successful merchant of Boston, to which city he came when a young man from Dublin, New Hampshire. The father was president of the Freeman's Bank of Boston for twenty-three years and served at different times in both branches of the City Government, and as a member of the Great and General Court. In the History of Dublin may be found record of his generous interest in the town in which his early life had been spent. He died in Boston on October 15, 1866, in his seventy-seventh year. William was descended in the sixth generation from Nathaniel Piper, who came to this country from Dartmouth in Devonshire as early as 1653, and later removed to Concord and thence to Acton, Massachusetts. Solomon, the grandfather of William, was one of the Acton men in the Concord Fight, was present at the surrender of Burgoyne at Saratoga, and served with General Sullivan in Rhode Island. After the war he removed first to Temple and thence to Dublin, New Hamp-

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shire. William's mother, Mary Elizabeth Taggard, the second wife of Solomon Piper, was the daughter of William and Mary Trow (Welch) Taggard. Her father was a merchant in New York City but originally came from Hillsborough, New Hampshire. Born in 1815, she was a lady of the old school. Highly refined and yet of strong character, her long companionship with her only child had a marked influence upon his character. As far as I am able to ascertain William Piper was descended in all lines from old New England stock, and his character and actions throughout his useful life would indicate this to be the fact.

Piper received his early education in the public schools of Boston. He was a Franklin medal boy at the Quincy Grammar School, and again at the Boston Latin School (then under the vigorous rule of Dr. Francis Gardner) he received another Franklin medal and a prize for English composition. He entered Harvard College in 1870, and received his degree of A.B. in 1874. His college distinctions were a Detur, a Lee prize for reading, Second Year Honors in Classics, a Commencement part and membership in the Phi Beta Kappa Society. During his college course he made his home with his mother on Concord Avenue in Cambridge. Later, after his marriage, he built a house on Brattle Street, near Elmwood, where he lived until his death. Soon after graduation he went to England, matriculated at Trinity College, Cambridge, and pursued his classical studies there for two years, travelling about in vacation times and returning to America in 1876. After a short stay in this country he again went to Europe and spent another year, partly in study at Leipzig, and partly in travel. On his return to America he entered the graduate school of Harvard University. In 1881 he received the degree of A.M. and in 1883 the degree of Ph.D. in classical philology. Although he did not make the study or teaching of the classics his profession, he retained through life his interest in classical studies, and his scholarship, especially in the Latin branches, was recognized by other students.

On July 10, 1879, he was married to Anne Palfrey Bridge, the daughter of the Rev. William Frederick and Elizabeth Guild (Crosby) Bridge. Her father was a graduate of Harvard College in 1846 and of the Harvard Divinity School in 1849, a Unitarian clergyman, and at one time professor of Moral Philosophy at Antioch in Ohio.

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This marriage proved to be an ideal union and of the utmost importance in the development of the characters of both husband and wife. The early death of the father had, as has already been pointed out, resulted in a close intimacy and a mutual devotion of mother and son. At this period of his life William Piper was known to his friends and acquaintances as a scholarly young man, seriously minded, and reserved in manner almost to the point of shyness. Few of his more intimate friends recognized the latent capacity of the man for effective public work. Anne Bridge was a beautiful young woman of unusual keenness and quickness of mind, thoroughly educated, of charming and attractive manners, and imbued with high and noble ideas of life. This young couple, possessed of ample means for comfortable living and personal enjoyment, united in a life-long endeavor not merely to make their home life beautiful, but to work for the improvement of the life about them. To those who knew them intimately it is impossible to think of them apart from one another. Each entered fully into the interests of the other, and complete mutual confidence resulted in mutual assistance. They were both soon interested in philanthropic work and later, as will be seen, the husband came to hold many public offices. In the meanwhile a family of four children was born to them and a home life established which in its refinement of surroundings, grace of hospitality, and high standard of morality was an example of wholesome living.

Piper's interest and activities in philanthropic work begin with the completion of his university studies and the attainment of the doctor's degree in 1883. In that year he was one of the organizers of the Associated Charities of Cambridge. He acted as the secretary of this board from 1883 to 1889, director from 1889 to 1899, vice-president from 1899 to 1902, and honorary vice-president from that date until his death. For two years, beginning in 1884, he was president and director of the Cambridge Social Union and later, 1896, became a trustee of its permanent fund. In the same year, 1884, he was chosen a member of the parish committee of the First Parish and First Church (Unitarian), on which he served until 1891, and after that date was elected yearly as chairman of the annual parish meetings and served upon various committees of the church.

In 1886 he was chosen trustee of the Avon Home for Children, a

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Cambridge charity in which he became deeply interested and to which, throughout the remainder of his life, he gave most freely of his time, his means, and his ability. He became its vice-president in 1888 and president in 1892. Under his administration a new building for the Home was built on Mount Auburn Street. He was chairman of the building committee and was most active in obtaining the necessary funds. He had hoped to add a department for an Infant's Hospital, a project in regard to which he had made extensive personal investigation, and toward the establishment of which he made a gift in his will. But his greatest service to the Home was the constant, one might almost say continuous, attention which he gave to the details of management. For example, when the system of placing children from time to time in families outside the Home was adopted, he made it his duty from month to month to visit them personally, no matter how great the distance or the inconvenience to himself, that he might report accurately their circumstances. This feeling of personal responsibility which he carried into all his activities combined with his accuracy in observation and clearness of judgment, made him an ideal official.

In 1899 he was elected a trustee of the Massachusetts Homeopathic Hospital. For eleven years he served upon the Hospital Committee, of which committee he became chairman in 1909. In January, 1910, he was elected president of the corporation and held that position at the time of his death. His connection with this institution was marked by constant and conscientious service. His visits were as accurately timed and as regularly made as those of its staff of physicians. He informed himself of the inmates and gave comfort to the sick and suffering by his quiet presence and sympathetic word. By a strange chance he was himself an inmate of the hospital in his last illness, and it was thus possible for those connected with the institution to show in many ways their regard for him.

In 1904 the Commonwealth of Massachusetts assumed the charge of the hospitals for the insane, with the exception of that at Boston; and in 1908 took over the Boston Insane Hospital (Pierce and Austin Farms), creating the Boston State Hospital. On the death of Mr. George Leonard in 1909, Piper was appointed by Governor Draper a trustee of the new hospital for the remainder of the term ending February 1, 1910, and he entered at once upon

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his duties with conscientious zeal. His familiarity with the details of conducting an institution of this character, derived from his experience with the Avon Home and the Homeopathic Hospital, made him a valuable member of the Board. It is pleasant to know that his services were appreciated by Governor Foss, who reappointed him for the full term ending February 1, 1917.

In 1904 the Cambridge District Nursing Association was founded. Its organization and establishment on a firm basis were due to the untiring and enthusiastic work of Mrs. Piper, who was its president as long as she lived. It is perhaps needless to say that her husband was deeply interested in this fine form of charity and gave helpful assistance to the work she was doing.

Along with these activities in philanthropic lines, Piper performed important duties as a public official of the City of Cambridge. In 1888 and again in 1889 he was elected a member of the Common Council. In 1890 he served a term as alderman. In 1891 he was appointed a member of the local board of Civil Service Examiners and continued in this office until his death. His most important service, however, was upon the School Committee to which he was elected in 1891. He was chosen president of the board in 1892 and held this position until his retirement from the board in 1909. To one familiar with the duties and responsibilities of a member of a school committee, and especially of its presiding officer, in a large city, the following figures are significant. The population of Cambridge is over 100,000; it has 38 school buildings; over 15,000 pupils and nearly 500 teachers. Its annual expenditures for school purposes are substantially half a million dollars. During the sixteen years of his incumbancy of this office Piper never allowed his comfort or pleasure to interfere with his presence at meetings. If no one else could be found to attend to a matter of detail, he did it himself. He visited the schools, made long excursions to ascertain the standing of candidates for positions and carefully considered appointments, promotions, and complaints. He shirked no responsibility. That he should have held this perplexing position for so many years shows not only his qualities of patience, firmness and fairness, but also his ability to command the respect and regard even of those who may have differed from his judgments. The following extract from the Cambridge Tribune of July 29, 1911, gives satisfactory

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evidence that his services were appreciated by those who were conversant with them:

For some sixteen years the president of the board, he exhibited in that capacity those traits which so signally marked his career and indicated him as the accomplished, courteous and fully equipped leader among men. During all that long period, it never occurred to the board to suggest any other name for its president or to demur on the decisions which it was his province to make. Few people in the community have a conscious knowledge of the management of school affairs; but those who are cognizant of the work of the schools fully appreciate the conscientious, skilled and superb work rendered gratuitously all these years by Mr. Piper. Had he been credited with this work alone, the people of Cambridge would be under a vast and an enduring obligation to him.

The charter of the City of Cambridge provides that one member of the board of trustees of the Cambridge Public Library shall be chosen from the School Committee, and this position was held by Piper from 1892 with the exception of one year, until his death, a period of seventeen years. It is not difficult to understand that to a man of his education and tastes this was the most agreeable and congenial of the public offices which he was called upon to fill. In a memorial sketch prepared for the New England Historical and Genealogical Register, Mr. Clarence Walter Ayer, the librarian of the Cambridge Public Library, writes as follows:

To his work for the Library Mr. Piper gave more time, thought and energy than any other trustee. Thoroughly congenial to one of his scholarly tastes, his duties as trustee, especially as chairman of the committee on books, became genuine pleasures. As elsewhere and always he was in close touch with all details of administration and service, and much of this matter he had at call, with or without the aid of an omnipresent note-book, which he kept by him for emergencies which might arise in any of his manifold interests. Generally twice a week, and some weeks oftener, he would come to the library, nearly always bringing back a parcel of books just read, and again taking out a new selection for himself and his family. Occasionally he would stop off on his way back from Boston, with the latest information about certain new books which he had just seen there, and which the library might not yet have received, or had not been able to buy, and thereupon would generally ensue eager discussions of books new and old, comments on current

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events, and random talks on any other topic, related or, as often, unrelated. As the weeks and years went by, the writer came more and more to look forward to these visits of Mr. Piper, and to count them among the rare pleasures of his library experience.

In addition to the Colonial Society, Piper enjoyed membership in other associations of literary and historical interests. He was one of the proprietors of the Boston Athenæum. He had been a member since 1892 of the New England Historic Genealogical Society, of which organization he served as an officer and as a member of important committees. He was a member of the corporation of the Trustees of Public Reservations, authorized by the Commonwealth of Massachusetts to receive and hold for the public, gifts of beautiful and historic places. Of social organizations, he was a member of the Union Club of Boston and the Oakley Country Club of Cambridge. He was also much interested in the Cambridge Club, a social organization having occasional meetings for the discussion of public questions, of which club he was successively a director, vice-president and president. The Harvard Travellers Club and the Massachusetts Civil Service Association were other organizations in which he held membership.

He was his own man of business, employing no secretary and maintaining no office, attending to his private affairs personally and at his home. A directorship in the Cambridge Trust Company was the only business position which he filled. His winter home was in Cambridge and his summer home was at Falmouth. To him and his wife four children were born, all of whom are living: William Bridge (A.B. Harvard, 1903; M.F. Yale, 1905); Elizabeth Bridge (A.B. Radcliffe, 1906; A.M. same, 1911); Anne Taggard (wife of Matthew Hale, A.B. Harvard, 1903); and Ralph Crosby (A.B. Harvard, 1911, three years' course). In the spring of 1911 both husband and wife were the victims of a mysterious epidemic of malignant tonsilitis; she was the first to go and then it seemed natural and inevitable that he soon followed her.

William Piper was by nature and training a man of reserved manner. His dislike of self advancement rather than modesty kept him from making known to others his accomplishments. Those associated with him in any one of his many interests were familiar with his work in that particular case, but it was not from him that they

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learned of his equally efficient work in other places. Indeed, it was not until his work ceased that his friends and co-workers realized the extent, amount, and effectiveness of his activities. His quiet and undemonstrative manner often concealed from the casual acquaintance the keenness of his mind and the quickness of his apprehension, and many of his friends may not have realized how much he enjoyed keen wit and clean humor and how deeply he was moved by the pathetic scenes of life. He was by education and development an idealist, tempered and restrained by common sense and a conscientiousness which we like to think an inheritance from New England ancestry. Summing up the facts of his life, all too brief as it seems to his friends, it appears so well rounded, so complete, that we may think the end not unfortunate. A youth of careful preparation, a happy union and the rearing of a family, the companionship of friends and the regard and respect of associates, over twenty-five years of useful and productive work, and then to depart in the companionship of her who had been his inspiration and reward.

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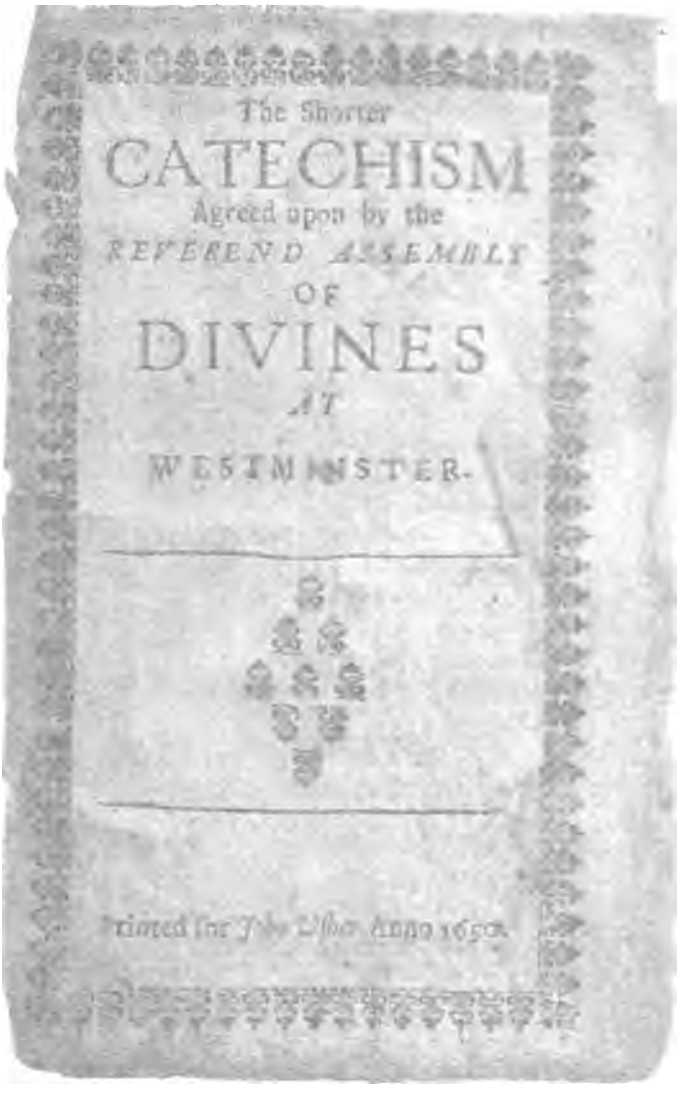
The Shorter
CATECHISM
Agreed upon by the
REVEREND ASSEMBLY
OF
DIVINES
AT
WESTMINSTER.
Printed for John Usher Anno 1650.

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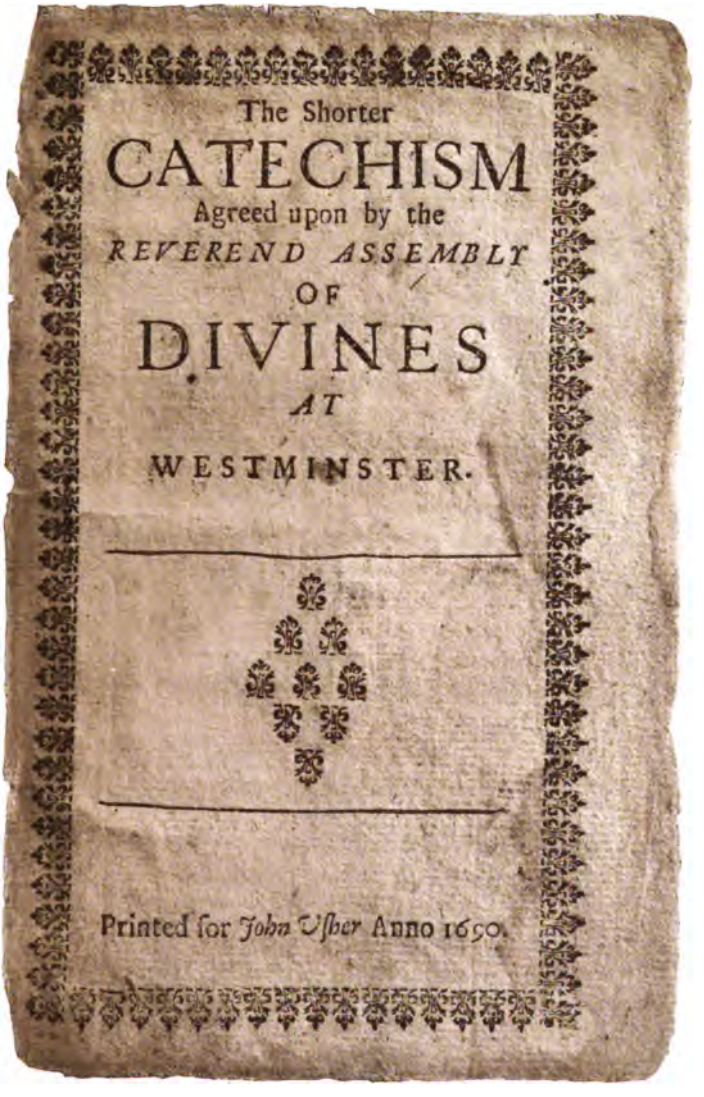

Engraved for The Colonial Society of Massachusetts
from the original in the possession of
John Whittemore Farwell, Esquire

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JANUARY MEETING, 1913.

A STATED MEETING of the Society was held at the house of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, No. 28 Newbury Street, Boston, on Thursday, 23 January, 1913, at three o'clock in the afternoon, the President, HENRY LEFAVOUR, LL.D., in the chair.

The Records of the last Stated Meeting were read and approved.

The PRESIDENT announced the death of two Resident Members — THORNTON MARSHALL WARE, who died on the twenty-eighth of December, and FRANCIS BLAKE, who died on the nineteenth of January.

The CORRESPONDING SECRETARY reported that a letter had been received from the Hon. WILLIAM HOWARD TAFT accepting Honorary Membership.

Mr. SAMUEL CHESTER CLOUGH of Boston, Mr. ALLAN FORBES of Westwood, Mr. GEORGE EMERY LITTLEFIELD of Somerville, Dr. CHARLES LEMUEL NICHOLS of Worcester, and Mr. EDGAR HUIDEKOPER WELLS of Boston, were elected Resident Members.

Mr. JOHN W. FARWELL exhibited a little volume containing the Rev. Deodat Lawson's "The Duty & Property of a Religious Householder Opened in a Sermon Delivered at Charlestown, on Lords Day December. 25. 1692," published at Boston in 1693; and the title-page, without the text, of "The Shorter Catechism Agreed upon by the Reverend Assembly of Divines at Westminster. Printed for John Usher Anno 1690." This edition of the famous work has apparently escaped the attention of bibliographers.

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Mr. ALBERT MATTHEWS read the following paper:

COLONEL ELIZEUS BURGES

In January, 1715,[1] Colonel Elizeus Burges was appointed by George I Governor of the Province of the Massachusetts Bay; on February 23 his commission was approved by the Privy Council,[2] and on March 17 it passed the Seals.[3] The news of Burges's appointment was received in Boston, April 21.[4] In a letter to the Massachusetts Council dated June 29 — which letter reached Boston September 22[5] — Burges said that he expected to sail in July.[6] On July 28 he wrote to the New Hampshire Council that he expected to sail in August.[7] In a letter to the Massachusetts Council dated September 6, he stated that "my Affairs in this Country are like to keep me here most part of the Winter," and added that "I have sent you over an Exemplification of my Commission."[8] This exemplification[9] was received here on November 9, and was read and published in Council the same day:

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[1] "About the middle of this Month *Elisha Burgess*, Esq; was declared Governor and Captain General of *New-England*, and *New-Hampshire*, in the Room of Colonel *Joseph Dudley*" (Political State of Great Britain, January, 1715, ix. 81). It will be observed that in this extract by "New England" is meant Massachusetts, a use of the name "New England" not uncommon at that time and which will form the subject of a future communication. All dates in this paper are New Style.

[2] Acts of the Privy Council, Colonial, ii. 799.

[3] Publications of this Society, ii. 91–100.

[4] "News comes that Col. Burgess is to be our Governour" (Sewall, April 21, 1715, Diary, iii. 46). Curiously enough, Burges's appointment apparently was not mentioned in the Boston News Letter.

[5] Sewall, September 22, Diary, iii. 57; Boston News Letter, September 26, p. 2/2.

[6] See p. 372, below.

[7] New Hampshire Provincial Papers, ii. 677, where the letter is printed. For other allusions to Burges, see ii. 675, 680 note, 681, 682, 683, iii. 594, 597, 598, 599, 602, 605, 636, 637, 655. It will be remembered that at that time the Governor of Massachusetts was also the Governor of New Hampshire.

[8] This letter, of which the original is not extant, was copied by Judge Sewall on November 25, 1715, and is printed in Sewall's Letter-Book, ii. 49–50. Cf. p. 372 note 1, below.

[9] This document found its way, about a century ago, into the library of the Massachusetts Historical Society; see Publications of this Society, ii. 100 note 1.

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On Wednesday last an Exemplification of His Majesty's Most Gracious Letters Patents, bearing date the 17th of *March* last, Constituting and Appointing *Elizeus Burges* Esq; His Captain General, and Governour in Chief in, and over this His Majesty's Province of the *Massachusetts-Bay*, were Read, and Published; upon which the Cannon of the Castle, and the South Battery of the Town were discharged.

Then the Honourable *William Tailer* . . . Issued forth a Proclamation . . . Requiring all Officers . . . to continue . . . till further Order.

After which the Honourable Lieut. Governour invited the Counsellors, the Representatives of *Boston*, and the Gentlemen present to his House, Where His Majesty's, the Prince's, and all the Royal Family's Health were Drank, as also Col. *Burges*'s Col. *Dudley*'s, and Prosperity to the Trade, and Welfare of this Province.[1]

In a letter to the Massachusetts Council, dated February 27, 1716, Burges, according to Sewall, "Promised to defend our Charter if attack'd while he is in London. Hopes to be here before May is out; proposing to Sail in April."[2] On May 28, the birthday of George I, Lieutenant-Governor Tailer and the Council —

at their own Expence, gave a Noble Entertainment at the Council Chamber, . . . where His Majesty's, the Prince's and all the Royal Families Healths were severally Drank, as also His Excellency Colonel *Burges*'s, with Prosperity to this Government, . . . The Gentlemen met again in the Evening, where they repeated all the former Healths, which concluded with such Extraordinary Illuminations as were never seen in these Parts.[3]

As late as May 31, in a speech to the House, Lieutenant-Governor Tailer said:

AT our last parting I had little Expectation of now speaking to you from this Chair, believing His Excellency Col. BURGES *our Governour would before this Time have happily Arrived among us, and I am well assured he may be daily expected, and that he comes with full Resolutions*

[1] Boston News Letter, November 14, 1715, p. 2/2. See also Council Records, November 9, vi. 389–390.

[2] April 13, 1716, Diary, iii. 77. (This entry appears in the printed Diary under date of "Feb. 13," but that was Sewall's own error for April.) The original of this letter, which was read in Council on April 13 (Council Records, vi. 438), is not extant, having probably been destroyed when the Boston Town House was injured by fire on December 9, 1747: see Publications of this Society, vol. ii. p. xix and note.

[3] Boston News Letter, June 4, 1716, p. 2/2.

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to do his utmost for the Interest of this Province, which he has signified to the Council in divers of his Letters, and has likewise expressed his grateful sense of the Honourable Provision you have made of so suitable a House for his Reception, in which you have not only obliged him but done much Honour to your selves.[1]

As a matter of fact, however, Burges had resigned his commission in the previous April,[2] though the news did not reach Boston until June 5.[3] Thus the uncertainty that had existed in Massachusetts for over a year was brought to an end. Though apparently nothing was known about Burges in this country early in 1715, yet his appointment aroused the bitter opposition of Jeremiah Dummer, then the agent of Massachusetts in London, who exerted himself to defeat it. Failing in this, Dummer set himself the task of displacing Burges, and in this he succeeded by advancing £1,000 to reimburse Burges for the charges of his commission, etc.[4] In a letter to John

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[1] House Journal, p. 3. The allusion is to the Province House.

[2] "*Boston*, By Letters from London of April 12th we are informed that His Excellency Col. *Elizeus Burges* Esq; Governour of this Province had resign'd his Office" (Boston News Letter, June 11, 1716, p. 2/1).

"*April* 15, . . . About this Time *Samuel Shute*, Esq; was appointed Governor of *New-England*, in the Room of *Elizeus Burgess*, Esq;" (Historical Register, 1716, i. 221).

"On the 20th Instant, it was declared, That his Majesty had been pleased to appoint *Samuel Shute* Esq; to be Governor of *New England*, in the Room of *Elizeus Burgess* Esq; who had resign'd that Government, being made Lieutenant Colonel of Dragoons in *Ireland*" (Political State of Great Britain, April, 1716, xi. 503).

"*St. James's, April* 20. His Majesty has been pleased to appoint *Samuel Shute*, Esq; to be Governour of New-England, in the room of *Elizeus Burgess*, Esq; who has resigned that Government" (Boston News Letter, July 16, p. 2/1).

[3] "Certain News is brought that Samuel Shute is made our Govr, to our great Joy. Mr. Burgess goes to Ireland a Lt Col. of Dragoons. The Lord is our Judge. Isa. 33. 22. Order is taken to send for the Packet from the Ship; and the Letter to Col. Burgess is now to Col. Shute, which I could not vote to" (Sewall, June 5, Diary, iii. 85). The scriptural passage reads: "For the LORD is our judge, the LORD is our lawgiver, the LORD is our King; he will save us."

"A Vessel being arrived from *Great-Britain* with Intelligence, that Col. *Burges* is not now design'd to come Governour of this Province, A Message was sent up to the Board . . . moving that the Letter of this Court to Col. *Burges*, desiring him to prefer the Humble Address of this Court to His Majesty may be stopp'd" (House Journal, June 5, p. 7).

[4] Hutchinson says: "Mr. Belcher, afterwards governor, who was very opposite to the bank party, was then in London, he joined with Mr. Dummer, the

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White[1] dated May 9, 1716 — after the resignation of Burges and the appointment of Colonel Samuel Shute — Dummer said:

As for those affairs of New England which are already transacted & are now matters of fact, I'll refer you to the information of others. It shall be my task to write of what is to come, as far at least as I can pry into the dark subject of Futurity. Without any great skill in the occult Sciences, I may confidently tell you that your Lieut[t] Governour[2] will be out, & that too notwithstanding Col. Burgess which causes the Loss, & I cant in the least doubt but my Countrey will be so Just as to repay it.[3] Col. Shute would not think of advancing any money himselfe as it was not reasonable that Col. Burgess should Quit without being paid the Charges of his Commission, Equipage &c. In this case I could not doubt a minute what I was to do, yet for forms' sake I advised with the friends of the Countrey, & they assured me it was my duty to do it, & that the Countrey would think it the best money that was ever laid out. New England does not know the unspeakable happyness they will Have by this Change, nor shall they ever know it from me, because if a certain Gentleman here does cut my throat (as he threatens) He shall have no pretence for it. Otherwise I could tell you such things, which though the danger be over, yet etiam nunc meminisse horret animus.[4]

So far as I am aware this letter, which was published in 1888, is the only contemporary passage relating to the character of Burges

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agent, and they engaged Sir William Ashurst with them, and prevailed upon Burgess for a thousand pounds sterling, which Belcher and Dummer advanced equally between them, to resign his commission, that Col. Shute might be appointed in his place" (History of Massachusetts, Boston, 1767, ii. 212). In a memorial to the Council and House, dated October 29, 1718, Belcher said that "Accordingly your Memorialist and the said Agent in Order to Obtain so Valuable a Blessing were under a necessity of advancing between them One Thousand pounds sterling" (Massachusetts Archives, xx. 183). The memorial was presented and read in the House on November 27. On the 28th it was read again, when Belcher "was admitted into the House, and heard thereon, and withdrew. And the Question being put, *Whether any thing be Granted on the said Memorial?* It pass'd in the Negative" (House Journal, p. 55).

[1] John White graduated from Harvard College in 1685, was Treasurer of the College from 1715 to his death in 1721, and was also for many years Clerk of the House of Representatives.

[2] William Tailer, who, as Dummer anticipated, was displaced, William Dummer receiving the appointment in 1716.

[3] This sentence is incomplete, some words having obviously dropped out.

[4] 2 Proceedings Massachusetts Historical Society, iv. 192–193.

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that has thus far found its way into print in this country.[1] Since Burges never crossed the Atlantic, his career, whatever it may have been, has absolutely no bearing on the history of Massachusetts, and so perhaps is not worth inquiry. And had Dummer stated in specific terms the reasons for his intense dislike to Burges, it is not probable that I should have given the matter a second thought. But it was unusual — if, indeed, any other instance is known — for an agent to keep up a fight against an official after that official had actually been commissioned; and one's curiosity is naturally aroused by the veiled allusions in the above letter. Moreover, Burges's threat to cut Dummer's throat and Dummer's vow of eternal silence give a melodramatic air to the episode. Hence I felt impelled to fathom the causes of the quarrel, if possible.

New information has been obtained from two sources — from unprinted letters of Dummer in the Massachusetts Archives and in the library of the Massachusetts Historical Society; and from certain English books which, though well known, have not hitherto been utilized in this country in connection with Burges. Let us consider the former first. In a letter to the Rev. Benjamin Colman dated January 15, 1715, Dummer, referring to Nathaniel Byfield, who had just reached London, said: "The Second time that Gentleman & I met was in my Chambers, where we soon came to a full understanding of each other with respect to the present Governor"[2] — that is, Joseph Dudley. Dummer was in favor of, Byfield against, the reappointment of Dudley. In a letter to White dated February 15, 1715, Dummer said: "I am taking all the pains I can to prevent the new Governour's Voyage, & Continue the Old one in his post."[3] In a letter to Secretary Addington, dated April 5, 1715, Dummer wrote:

> The last thing, thô not the least, which I am now to acquaint you with, is that Col° Elisha Burgess, whom His Majesty was pleas'd some

[1] The following is hardly definite enough to be regarded as an exception: "You have heard of our new Govr 'ere now. He is a fine gent, as they say. I am to wait on him tomorrow, not haveing seen him as yett since my arrivall" (Thomas Lechmere to Wait Winthrop, May 14, 1715, 6 Massachusetts Historical Collections, v. 307).

[2] Massachusetts Historical Society (C. 71. I. 96). This letter is printed in 1 Massachusetts Historical Collections, v. 197–199.

[3] Massachusetts Historical Society (161. J. 12).

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time since to appoint for the Government of New England, is now actually your Governour, His Commissions being pass't both the Seals. He is a Gentleman, who has serv'd in the army, & particularly had the honour to be Leiut^{t} Col^{o} to General Stanhope [1] in Spain, where he distinguish't himselfe in several Actions. But notwithstanding his good character in the military way, I had such an account of him in other respects, that I could by no means think him a suitable person to be the Governour of New England. Having therefore first Advis'd with Sr Willm Ashurst, & other friends of New-England, I did in concurrence with them doe all I could in a proper way to prevent the Sealing his Commission. In which I was very much encourag'd by some of the Greatest men in the Government, thô I was indeed upbraided by others as having too high an Opinion of my own Countrey, & was ask't, whether I would have a man made on purpose to Govern it. It may be to no purpose now to inform you of the particular steps that were taken in this matter, or the reason of their proving ineffectual; I would rather bury every thing that's past in Silence, & I heartily wish Col^{o} Burgess may prove so just & kind in his administration, that you may think me to have bin mistaken & ill advis'd in the opposition I made to him. But however that be, this will alwaies remain a comfort to me, that I steadily pursued what I thought was my duty, notwithstanding the menaces sent me in the time of it, & the resolution, which I am told, he has since taken of never being reconcil'd to me.[2]

The following letter, dated Whitehall, June 25, 1715, was written to White:

Dear S^{r}

We have now the good news of the Arrival of three Ships from Boston, & none, or very few, letters are come up. So that I am oblig'd to write to you, thô I have nothing to write about, for want of your Letters. This Ship Carries over your new Secretary,[3] & Your Governour intends to follow about the latter End of July. The former seems to be a Civil, good humour'd man, thô I know little of him, having bin but once in his Company by accident, for the furious Animosity of the Governour against me makes all his Dependents afraid to Converse with me. I believe my Successour is not yet appointed, because people are backward in bidding for it being told it is not in the Governour's Power to secure a Sallary, & therefore are loth to part with the pence. I am sorry to hear

[1] James Stanhope, afterwards first Earl Stanhope.

[2] Massachusetts Archives, li. 273–277.

[3] Samuel Woodward.

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of the fierce Divisions that are among you about the Bank, which I hope however will not last long. Col° Byfeild, & others employd for the private Bank, have drawn a petition to the King, which they presented to Mr Stanhope, & He has refer'd it to the Board of Trade, where it is to be consider'd & debated. I beleive the result of it will be, to recommend it to the Governour, Council & Assembly of the Province to draw up a full State of the Case & Send it home, after which they'l come to some determination upon it. Colonel Byfeild instead of being Governour, is like to lose his Commission for Judge of the Vice-Admiralty, & nothing can save it, unless Col° Burgess very heartily espouses him, which perhaps he may do, to reward his treachery in betraying me to him.

The Account of the State of the Nation, & affairs of Europe you'l find in the prints which I send you by Capt Parnel, & are, I think, all that have bin publish't Since the last I Sent you. I have Sent Mr Burril[1] the Committee of Secrecy's report, there being some remarkable things in it relating to the Canada Expedition, as well as our Cession of Cape Bretton to the French, which I have directed to be deliver'd to you, that you may first read it. Notwithstanding the Vigorous impeachments, & the great expectations of people therefrom, I can't help being of a particular opinion by my selfe, that all will end without blood. But if any body dies, it will be my Lord Oxford,[2] who has not a friend of any consequence in the whole World, now my Lord Halifax[3] is Dead, who, had he liv'd, would never have forsaken his int'rest. The Whigs will never forgive him his putting them out of the Ministry, nor the Tories his Defeating their hopes of the restoration, as they are pleas'd to Call it.[4] Thus he is by both parties devoted to death, & yet I believe they'l be both disappointed. Now, I am mentioning this Lord, it makes me think of what Col° Burgess gives out, that I us'd, when he was in power, to goe to him in disguise by night, that I receiv'd a great deal of money from him, & was an instrument of his rogueries. Whereas in Truth, I never went to him but openly & publickly in my life, nor ever spoke to him but on the affairs of my Commission nor even ask't or receiv'd the value of a Shilling of him.[5] But I can bear reproach, I

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[1] John Burrill, Speaker of the Massachusetts House.

[2] Robert Harley, first Earl of Oxford, who was dismissed from office in July, 1714.

[3] Charles Montagu, first Earl of Halifax.

[4] An allusion, of course, to the project to bring over the Old Pretender after the death of Anne.

[5] Attention should be called to some suspicions that had been cast on Dummer's conduct in regard to another matter: see Sewall's Diary, ii. 78–79,

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thank God, from any body, but my own heart, & make some good use of it too, for I often think with pleasure on a book written by Old Plutarch ye Moralist, the title of which has more in it than whole volumes, *De Capienda ex hostibus utilitate.*

I wish you much happyness & am very affectionately Dear S^r^
Your faithfull Humble serv^t^
JER DUMMER [1]

Dummer's letter to White of May 9, 1716, has already been quoted.[2] On August 18, 1716, Dummer wrote to Edmund Quincy as follows:

I can't but think you very happy who are Seated in your Native Town & Countrey & have an opportunity to be serviceable in your Generation by being cloath'd with the first honours of your Countrey. My Post is peculiarly difficult by the persecutions of one of the worst Of men, whom I oppos'd being your Governour, & by the Wrath of the Private Bankers among you, who will never forgive me for following my Instructions, which if I had not done, I should have deserv'd the contempt of every body. Besides the injurys I have sustain'd by attacks on my person, reputation & estate for being faithfull to my Countrey, I have bin at the expense of a thousand pounds Sterling for the Service of the Province since I have had any thing remitted. If after all, the Assembly thinks fit to drop me, I shall contentedly retire from the Stage, & for the future perhaps study more my private advantage, thô nothing will be able to obliterate the natural obligations which I have to my beloved Countrey.[3]

These are the only passages in Dummer's letters that refer to Burges.[4] Though they leave no manner of doubt as to the strength

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Sewall's Letter-Book, ii. 57, and C. Mather's Diary, ii. 414, 418. Cf. also Sewall's Letter-Book, i. 305 note.

[1] Massachusetts Historical Society (161. J. 13).

[2] See p. 363, above.

[3] Massachusetts Historical Society (81. 1. 25).

[4] That is, during the years 1715–1716. In a letter dated April 8, 1720, Dummer, apparently referring to the opposition that any governor would necessarily meet with in Massachusetts, said: "If Col. Burgess had well considered what he did, when he put in an appearance for the province, 'tis probable he would not have done it" (3 Massachusetts Historical Collections, i. 146).

Writing in 1767 Hutchinson said: "Colonel Burgess, who had served under General Stanhope, was by his interest, in February, appointed to the government, and his commissions passed the seals March the 17th, and Ashurst writes, that

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of Dummer's hostility to Burges, yet they are very guarded and in reality throw little light on the causes of that hostility. Fortunately, others were more explicit, and it now becomes necessary to examine the evidence obtained from English sources. The earliest allusion to Burges I have been able to find is under date of March 13, 1693, when he was commissioned "to be brigadier and eldest lieutenant of the second troop of horse guards, whereof the Duke of Ormond [1] is captain and colonel." [2] He was out of the regiment before 1694.[3] On May 15, 1705, Luttrell recorded that "Captain Burgesse is made adjutant general under the earl of Peterborough." [4] In 1708 Lord Tunbridge's [5] Regiment of Dragoon embarked for Spain, and on September 8, 1711, Burges was commissioned Lieutenant-Colonel.[6] While in Spain he also served under General Stanhope, who, soon after becoming second Secretary of State late in 1714, offered Burges the governorship of Massachusetts. At that time, then, Burges had had a successful career in the army extending over nearly a quarter of a century. Our next quotation shows that Uncle Toby's remark that "our armies swore terribly in Flanders" was more than justified. For on February 17, 1715, or exactly one month before Burges was commissioned Governor, Countess Cowper wrote:

I came mighty ill to *Court*, and the Duchess of *Shrewsbury* had so much Humanity as to wait out my Week for me. As I was going through the Rooms, I met Baron *Bernsdorff*.[7] I told him that my Lord [8] had ordered me to speak to him to hinder Mr. *Burgess* from going Governor to *New England*. He is the most immoral Man in the World; was tried

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the General had promised to be answerable for his good behaviour" (History of Massachusetts, Boston, 1767, ii. 211). I have been unable to find such a letter by Sir William Ashurst either in print or in manuscript.

[1] James Butler, second Duke of Ormonde. A letter from Capt. E. Burges, dated "The Centurion, in Torbay," September 8, 1706, is in the Ormonde Manuscripts (Seventh Report of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts, part ii. app. p. 811). This may or may not have been our Col. Burges.

[2] Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 1693, p. 63.

[3] C. Dalton, English Army Lists and Commissions, 1661–1714, iii. 291.

[4] Brief Relation of State Affairs, v. 550.

[5] William Nassau de Zuylestein, by courtesy called Viscount Tunbridge, afterwards second Earl of Rochford. He was killed at the battle of Almenara in Spain in 1710.

[6] Dalton, vi. 228.

[7] Baron Bernsdorff was the German Minister of George I.

[8] William Cowper, first Earl Cowper.

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for the Murders of two Men, and was so common a Swearer that the People, who are rigid Puritans, and left the Kingdom before the Civil Wars, to enjoy their own Way of Worship, would look at his being sent over as a Judgment upon them.[1]

If these charges were true, the people of Massachusetts, when they became acquainted with the facts, would certainly have regarded the appointment of Burges in the light indicated by Countess Cowper. Burges may or may not have been immoral and a "common swearer;" but that at least the charge in regard to the murders was substantially true can be proved. Under date of Tuesday, April 14, 1696, Luttrell recorded that "On Sunday a duel was fought in Leicester fields between Mr. Fane, son to sir Henry, and capt. Burgesse; the former was wounded in the brest, and since dead."[2] On Tuesday, the 19th of May following, Luttrell wrote that "Capt. Burgesse, convicted last sessions of manslaughter for killing Mr. Fane, is committed to the Gatehouse for killing Mr. Horden, of the Playhouse, last night in Covent Garden."[3] Another account of this affair appeared in the London News-Letter of May 20th: "On *Monday* Capt. Burges who kill'd Mr. *Fane*, and was found guilty of Manslaughter at the *Old Baily*, kill'd Mr. *Harding* a Comedian in a Quarrel at the *Rose* Tavern in *Hatton Garden*, and is taken into Custody."[4] On May 26, 1696, Luttrell stated that "Capt. Burgesse, who killed Horden the player, has made his escape out of the Gatehouse."[5] And on November 30, 1697, Luttrell recorded that "Capt. Burgesse, who killed Mr. Horden the player, has obtained his majes-

[1] Diary of Mary Countess Cowper (1874), p. 47. Mary Clavering was the second wife of Earl Cowper.

[2] Brief Relation, iv. 44. No doubt light is thrown on this episode in the State Papers, Domestic; but the Calendars have as yet been printed only through the year 1695.

[3] Brief Relation, iv. 61.

[4] Quoted by R. W. Lowe in his edition of Cibber's Apology, i. 303 note. "Harding" and "Hatton Garden" are errors for Horden and Covent Garden.

[5] Brief Relation, iv. 63. On June 6 Luttrell wrote: "One Lansdale has discovered the manner of capt. Burges's escape out of the Gatehouse, and sayes that one Callow, a serjeant in the guards, with 3 corporals, &c. were the persons concerned in carrying him off, for which they had 7 guineas each; some of whom are since taken, and committed to Newgate" (iv. 68–69). On October 17, 1696, Luttrell stated that "Mr. John Pitts was tryed at the sessions for killing Mr. Horden the player, and acquitted, he being no waies accessory thereto, more then being in company when 'twas done" (iv. 126).

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ties pardon."[1] This affair was long remembered, for in 1739 the entertaining Colley Cibber wrote:

> I cannot here forget a Misfortune that befel our Society about this time, by the loss of a young Actor, *Hildebrand Horden*, who was killed at the Bar of the *Rose-Tavern*, in a frivolous, rash, accidental Quarrel; for which a late Resident at *Venice*, Colonel *Burgess*, and several other Persons of Distinction, took their Tryals, and were acquitted.[2]

If Palfrey was right in saying that "the government of Massachusetts was nothing more than a job" to Burges,[3] it is fair to assume that the latter would not have abandoned one job without having first secured another. This, as we have already seen,[4] was the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel of Dragoons in Ireland. It was not long, however, before he sought and obtained another position, to which a clue is given in Cibber's reference to him as "a late Resident at Venice." Mr. Horatio F. Brown says that "Great Britain sent fifty-eight embassies, in all, to the Republic, between the years 1340 and 1797. Of these ambassadors, Sir Gregory Cassalis filled the office twice, Sir Henry Wotton thrice, the Earl of Manchester twice, and Elizeus Burgess twice."[5] Here, then, we have proof not only of the correctness of Cibber's statement, but also of the identity of

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[1] iv. 312. On July 25, 1702, Luttrell noted that Queen Anne had granted a "pardon to captain Burgis, condemned by the court of admiralty for 4 several pyracies" (v. 198). That this was not our Col. Burges is proved by the following extracts from the London Gazette of July 2 (p. 2/1) and July 16 (p. 2/1), 1702:

London, June 29. At a Session of the Court of Admiralty held this day at the *Old-Baily*, Captain *Samuel Burgess* was Indicted and tryed for 4 several Acts of Piracy, and found guilty of the same.

London, July 13. . . . the Trials being over, the Court proceeded to pass Sentence of Death upon *Samuel Burges*, . . . who had been convicted of Piracy.

[2] Apology, Lowe's edition (1889), i. 302–303. Cibber's statement has often been repeated: cf. A Compleat List of all the English Dramatic Poets, and of all the Plays ever printed in the English Language, to the present year M,DCC, XLVII, appended to T. Whincop's Scanderbeg (London, 1747), p. 249; T. Davies, Dramatic Miscellanies (1785), iii. 443; D. E. Baker, I. Reed, and S. Jones, Biographia Dramatica (1812), i. 366; Genest, Some Account of the English Stage, ii. 83; Wheatley, London Past and Present, iii. 171; sketch of Horden in the Dictionary of National Biography.

[3] History of New England, iv. 386.

[4] See p. 362 note 2, above.

[5] Studies in the History of Venice (1907), i. 329.

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our Colonel Burges with the "Capt. Burgesse" who was accused of killing Fane and Horden. It was in May, 1719, that Burges was first appointed English Resident at Venice,[1] and he appears to have held the office for two or two and a half years. A letter from Lord Carteret to the Lords of the Treasury, dated October 24, 1721, related to arrears to be paid to "Mr. Burges" and certain other of "the King's Ministers abroad, whom he had recalled;" and another letter, dated July 31, 1722, contained "directions to be given for payment of a pension of 300 *l.* per ann. during pleasure to Elizeus Burges late Resident in the Republic of Venice."[2] Hence Burges's first term as Resident at Venice ended on or before October 24, 1721. No trace of Burges has been found between the years 1722 and 1727; but in October, 1727, he was again appointed Resident at Venice,[3] and on the 25th of March, 1728, he left "His Majesty's presence on that employ."[4] This time he retained the post until his death, which occurred at Venice on November 3–14, 1736.[5]

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[1] "About the middle of this Month, it was declared, that his Majesty had been pleased to appoint,

"*Elizeus Burgess*, Esq; to be Resident with the Republic of *Venice*" (Political State of Great Britain, May, 1719, xviii. 508).

"*May* 9. . . . *Eliseus Burgess*, Esq; appointed his Majesty's Resident at Venice, in the Room of —— *Cunningham*, Esq." (Historical Register, 1719, Chronological Diary, p. 15).

[2] Calendar of Treasury Papers, 1720–1728, pp. 113, 189.

[3] "*Oct.* . . . 21. *Elizeus Burgess*, Esq; appointed his Majesty's Resident at *Venice*" (Historical Register, 1727, Chronological Diary, p. 47).

"About the Beginning of this Month of *November*, it was publish'd by Authority that his Majesty had been pleased to appoint,

"*Elizeus Burges* Esq; to be Resident to the Republick of *Venice*" (Political State of Great Britain, November, 1727, xxxiv. 505).

The only allusion I have found in this country to the after career of Burges is the following editorial note in Sewall's Diary: "We may avail ourselves of this opportunity to say that, though Burgess never came here, he seems to have received diplomatic advancement. Oct. 21, 1727, Eliseus Burgess was made his Majesty's Resident at Venice" (iii. 77). It may be added that the late William H. Whitmore inserted the following query in London Notes and Queries of February 1, 1868: "*Colonel Eliseus Burgess.* — Who was this gentleman, Commission Governor of Massachusetts, March 17, 1714–5? He sold his appointment to Colonel Shute, in April, 1716; and May 9, 1719, he, or a namesake, was made Resident at Venice. What else is known of him?" (Fourth Series, i. 100). This request met with no response.

[4] Calendar of Treasury Books and Papers, 1729–1730, p. 251.

[5] There is frequent mention of payments to Burges in the Calendars of Treas-

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That Colonel Burges was a man of ability may be assumed from the rank to which he attained in the army and from the official position he held for about ten years at Venice. But however that may have been, it must at least be admitted that he displayed cleverness and facility in adapting himself to a new position. For on June 29, 1715, he wrote to the Massachusetts Council — and one can readily imagine the smile that must have played about his lips as he penned the words — as follows:

The K. has done me the Honor to make me his Governour of the Provinces of the Massachusets Bay, and N-Hampshire in N. England, and I think I cañot find a fitter opportunity than this to acquaint you with His Maj's Goodness to me. . . . I propose to leave this place the latter end of the next Moneth, and hope to be with you before the end of September. While I continue here, I will do all I can for your Service; and when I have the Honor to see you at Boston, I will give you all the Assurances you your selves can desire, that I have nothing so much at heart, as the Good of the people, and the Glory of GOD.[1]

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ury Books and Papers for 1729–1730, 1731–1734, and 1735–1738. The final payment, made to Burges's executors on June 3, 1737, was for £138 0 0, "Ordinary, 1736, September 29 to November 14, day of his death, as late Resident at Venice" (Calendar of Treasury Books and Papers, 1735–1738, p. 417).

The following notice of Burges's death appeared in the Political State of Great Britain for November, 1736: "*Nov.* . . . 3d, Died, at *Venice*, the Hon. Col. *E. Burges*, his Majesty's Resident with that Republick" (lii. 541). There is, I take it, no discrepancy between the two dates November 3 and 14, one being Old Style, the other New Style.

An abstract of Burges's will (Prerogative Court of Canterbury, Derby, 235), which was dated August 15 and proved November 24, 1736, follows:

I bequeath to Mrs Victoria Hernandez a Spanish gentlewoman who is now in the house with me 15000 French livres. To my valet de chambre Henry Longmore who has lived with me I think twenty years £400. To my secretary Mr Vincent Martinelli 60 Venetian Sequins. To all my other servants a year's wages or a month's board wages. I desire to be buried privately with the rest of my country men at Lido. Residuary legatee & executor: — my nephew, Mr Thomas Burges. Witnesses: — Neil Brown, Jos. Smith, Henry Longmore.

The second witness was doubtless the Joseph Smith (1682–1770) who lived at Venice from 1700 to 1770, who was British Consul there from 1740 to 1760, and of whom there is a notice in the Dictionary of National Biography.

[1] The original of this letter is not extant: cf. p. 360 note 8, above. The letter was copied by Sewall on November 25, 1715, and is printed in Sewall's Letter-Book, ii. 48–49.

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Mr. HENRY H. EDES read an invitation to this Society to be represented at the International Congress of Historical Studies to be held in London in April, 1913. It was voted that the invitation be accepted and that the President be authorized to appoint one or more delegates.

Mr. ANDREW MCF. DAVIS made the following communication:

NEW HAMPSHIRE MERCHANTS' NOTES, 1734–1735

It is known to some of you that about twelve years ago I published in two volumes, under the auspices of the American Economic Association, a work entitled Currency and Banking in the Province of the Massachusetts Bay. This work, which represents the result of various independent researches, took its root in a paper read before this Society at the January meeting, 1895, entitled "Provincial Banks: Land and Silver."[1] The preparation of this paper necessarily involved the close examination and careful study of the emissions, during the first half of the eighteenth century, by the provincial government of the paper money which then comprised the circulating medium upon which the people of the province were dependent for their daily business transactions. In addition to this there had been quite a number of experiments inaugurated, through which individuals sought by concerted action to furnish a currency for general circulation, from which they should derive the profit which was then received by the government from that source. There was one, for instance, in Connecticut in 1732. There was one in Boston in 1733. There was a feeble imitation of the Boston experiment in Portsmouth, New Hampshire, in 1734, and lastly, there were the Land Bank of 1740 and its opponent the Silver Bank, whose story was partly told in the paper on provincial banks already referred to. In addition to the account of the conflict in Massachusetts contained in that paper, a separate account of the Connecticut experiment was communicated to this Society at the January meeting in 1898[2] and was published in the Quarterly Journal of Economics, in October, 1898. In January, 1899, a supplemental account of the

[1] Publications, iii. 2–40.

[2] Publications, v. 96–111.

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Connecticut Company was communicated to this Society at the January meeting.[1] This was based upon additional material gleaned from the Archives at Hartford.

The story of the Merchants' Notes of 1733 was very fully told in the pages of the Weekly Rehearsal and the New England Weekly Journal. From the columns of these papers an account was abridged by myself which was communicated to the Massachusetts Historical Society in April, 1903.[2]

The story of the New Hampshire Notes alone among the various experiments has refused to reveal itself. A statute passed by the Massachusetts General Assembly prohibiting the circulation of these notes in Massachusetts, and the records of the Board of Trade bearing upon the question "Should they recommend to the Privy Council that this Act be disallowed?" were practically all that was known of the history of this experiment, beyond and in addition to what is contained on the face of the notes themselves, of which specimens are to be found in our museums. From these sources and from Belcher's speeches and letters a brief description of the company or organization which emitted the notes was compiled for the second volume of Currency and Banking in the Province of the Massachusetts Bay,[3] and from that time to this no contribution of material has been made which called for any alteration of what had been said or which added to the value of the deductions then made.

Quite recently the records of the Privy Council have been published under the title "Acts of the Privy Council, Colonial," and in chronological order the proceedings in connection with the hearing and the discussion as to the disallowance of the Massachusetts Act prohibiting the circulation of these notes are duly recorded. In one

[1] Publications, vi. 6–11.

[2] 2 Proceedings, xvii. 184–208. In this account the following statement is made: "The files in our local libraries of the 'News Letter' and the 'Boston Gazette,' the papers to which we should naturally look for information, are almost absolutely destitute of copies published during the years 1733 and 1734" (p. 186). At that time the Check List of Boston Newspapers, 1704–1780, contained in vol. ix, Publications of this Society, had not been published, and it was not easy to determine how many or what copies of these early newspapers were at hand. The Boston Public Library has an almost complete set of the News Letter for that year. It probably was at the bindery when I made my search.

[3] ii. 125–129.

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of these volumes, three papers are referred to: a petition of Wilks, the Massachusetts agent; the report of the Board of Trade recommending the disallowance of the statute; and a paper containing the names of eighteen of the citizens of New Hampshire who favored the New Hampshire notes. Of these papers the report of the Board of Trade has already been published. The petition of Wilks has not been heretofore published, but an abstract of a similar petition appears in the Board of Trade records. The list of eighteen names is new and is the first real contribution to the history of these notes which has been made since the Board of Trade records were procured.

No attempt has heretofore been made to collate and publish in one paper the various documents herein referred to. It was believed that the Registry of Deeds at Exeter, the probate papers, or the papers of some estate at Portsmouth would inevitably contribute some information on this subject. Having this in view I went to Exeter, New Hampshire, only to find that all papers of that date had been removed to the State Archives at Concord. In some respects this was an advantage, for there I could secure the services of a trained searcher to go through the records for traces of the company and for traces of some connection with it of every person whose name can be associated with it through the notes or through mention anywhere of such person's favoring the scheme. Such a search was made without result.

As for Portsmouth estates, our associate Barrett Wendell a little over a year ago came into possession of an old house at Portsmouth and found therein a multitude of papers, among them a bundle of these New Hampshire Notes. There were fifty or sixty of them, but not a paper bearing upon the scheme. Other than this nothing has come to light.

It is not improbable that some papers will yet be discovered which will open up more plainly the secrets of this financial experiment, but we need not wait longer before gathering together in a single fagot the various detached fragments of information at our command. With that in view I submit copies of the various papers which have been referred to herein.

List of Papers

I Statute prohibiting passage of New Hampshire Notes in Massachusetts, 1735

II Resolve calling on Governor to issue Proclamation, 1735

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III Note to Chapter 21, Vol. II, Massachusetts Province Laws
IV Extracts from Belcher's speeches to the New Hampshire Assembly, and reply of Committee, 1735
V Acts of the Privy Council, 1736
VI Report of Board of Trade to Committee of Privy Council, 1736
VII Petition of Francis Wilks, 1736
VIII List of names, 1736
IX Acts of the Privy Council, 1736
X Miscellaneous

I

AN ACT TO PREVENT THE CURRENCY OF CERTAIN BILLS OR NOTES OF HAND EMITTED BY A SOCIETY OR NUMBER OF PERSONS IN THE PROVINCE OF NEW HAMPSHIRE[1]

WHEREAS sundry persons, principally, if not wholly, belonging to the province of New Hampshire, have, in the year last past, struck, signed and issued, or are about striking, signing and issuing certain bills or promissory notes, of a most uncertain and sinking value, as they are payable in New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Connecticut and Rhode Island bills, or in silver, gold or hemp at the unknown price they may be at Portsmouth, in New Hampshire, *anno* 1747, whereby his majesty's good subjects will be great sufferers should they part with their goods and substance for them, or accept them in payments; for prevention whereof, —

Be it enacted by His Excellency the Governour, Council and Representatives in General Court assembled, and by the authority of the same,

That from and after the first day of May next, all and every person or persons whatever, that shall, within this province, utter or offer to pass or put off, or that shall receive or take any of the aforesaid bills or promissory notes, shall incur and forfeit as a penalty for so uttering or taking the aforesaid bills or notes, all and every such bill or bills as they shall utter or put off, receive or take, together with treble the sum in bills of credit on this province, to the denomination of the bills so put off or received; that is to say, for uttering or putting off, or offering to put off, and for taking or receiving a bill or note of the denomination of seven shillings, the penalty shall be the forfeiture of the said bill, and twenty-one shilling beside, in province bills, and so, proportionally, for any greater or less bill or bills, or any sum of bills or notes; to be recovered by bill, plaint, or information, before any justice of the peace or court of record, according as the penalties, being less or greater, are respectively

[1] Massachusetts Province Laws, ii. 743–744: passed and published April 18, 1735.

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cognizable, the one-half to him that shall inform or sue for the same, and the other moiety to the poor of the town wherein the crime is or shall be committed.

II

VOTE FOR A PROCLAM[A] ABOUT NEW HAMPSHIRE NOTES[1]

Voted That his Excellency the Governor be desired to issue forth a proclamation to Caution all his Majestys Subjects in this province from taking any of the Notes lately issued by a number of persons in the province of New Hampshire, to prevent the Mischiefs & penalty mentioned in the Act lately passed for that purpose, And that the said proclamation be forthwith printęd & dispersed thrô the province and posted up in Some publick place in every Town therein by the Town Clerk of each Town.

III

NOTE TO CHAPTER 21, MASSACHUSETTS PROVINCE LAWS[2]

At a meeting of the Lords of Trade, December 9, 1735, — "The Board took again into consideration the Act to prevent the currency of New Hampshire Bills in the Province of Massachusetts, read at the last Meeting. M[r] Wilks said that if these Bills are allowed to be current in the Massachusetts it will be the ruin of the Province — And desired the Act might be well considered before it was Repealed, and that he might have opportunity of talking with the Merchants of this subject and would attend the Board again upon notice after Christmas."

"Tuesday, February 17th 1735–6. . . . Mr. Wilks, Capt. Tomlinson, M[r] John Sharpe & several Merchants attend upon the Massachuset Law to prevent the Currency of N. Hampshire Notes. — Wilks apprehends that should the Law be repealed the Trade will be ruined, because money of base value will be pour'd in upon them from all parts. Sandford says that N. England Bills are fallen in value. Tomlinson says that N. Hampshire Bills are equal value with N. England Bills, says there is an Association of the best people in the Province to be answerable for the whole sum which amounts to about £6000 sterl[g] All the Bills are not signed by the same Gentlemen — Act read — a list of the Association read. — Order'd Act to be repealed."

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[1] Massachusetts Province Laws, xii. 109: passed April 18, 1735.

[2] Massachusetts Province Laws, xii. 746–747.

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On the 17th of March following the date of the above meeting, the Lords of Trade drew up a report for the repeal of this chapter, which was agreed to on the 26th of the same month. This report was considered by the committee of the Privy Council, July 10, 1736, who, thereupon, ordered that the Lords of Trade "do consider of and lay before this Committee a state of the Paper Currency in these Provinces." — *i. e.* the four Colonies of New England.

The report of the Lords of Trade in obedience to this order is dated March 17, 1735–36; and on the 23d of September, 1736, the Board wrote to Belcher, that they had laid this act "before His Majesty for his disallowance." No further action upon this chapter has been discovered.[1]

IV

DISCUSSION IN NEW HAMPSHIRE

A

BELCHER'S SPEECH, MAY 3, 1735

I cannot but observe to you, Gen^{t}, as I said once and again to the Assembly of the Mass^{a} Province, on an occasion something like this, of the unwarrantable attempt made here by a set of private Gen^{t} to strike & Issue paper notes or Bills to pass in lieu of money. If the Legislature are restrained by his Maj^{ties} Royal Orders from a Practice of this Nature any otherwise than may be for the necessary charge of the Province, surely private persons ought not to presume upon it.[2]

B

REPLY OF THE COMMITTEE OF THE HOUSE, MAY 8, 1735

As to what your Excell^{y} was pleased to mention in relation to a set of private Gentlemens striking & issuing paper notes or Bills to pass in lieu of money, this House is not sensible wherein such an attempt is unwarrantable unless some notorious Fraude or Cheat might be design'd & discovered therein, inasmuch as we can't apprehend his Maj^{ties} Royall Instructions to your Excell^{y} upon the head of Province Bills was ever intended to extend to negotiable Notes amongst merchants and Traders, and we are not a little concern'd to see your Excell^{ys} Proclamation Publishing an Act of the Province of the Mass^{a} against taking

[1] Then follows the report (from "New England, Board of Trade," xl. 150, in the Public Record Office) which is printed under VI, p. 380, below.

[2] New Hampshire Provincial Papers, iv. 685.

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those notes prefaced thus — "least Some unwary persons be imposed upon by the said notes or Bills." [1]

C

Belcher's Speech, May 17, 1735

I am sorry you have given me occasion to mention againe the unwarrantable Practice of a set of Private p'sons striking and issuing of papers to pass for [2] money. Instead of saying anything to justifie ye chimerical projection I wish you had past a Law upon it in that wise and Laudible man^r^ the Massachusetts Bay have done. But since you have not I am obliged to let you and all the good People of this Province know how just my fears were when I issued the Proclamation you speak of. In that I have had several complaints made to me since my coming into this Province from some unwary People who have been Impos'd upon by these paper notes that some of the Principle founders or undertakers in the scheme have Refused to give credit to those their own notes, by which they must become a dead loss in the hands of those who have parted with their substance for them and this doubtless must discover to the world a notorious fraud (which I hope was not originally design'd) and I would further observe to you gen^l^ on this affaire that I can't see why your House (or the p'sons concern'd) should take amiss that the Massachusetts assembly have not tho't with you in this new scheme, for if there be a real intrinsick value in the notes (as the undertakers ought to believe there is) the act of the Massachusetts can't take it away and then what they have done must be of service to this Province by confineing these notes to a currency or circulation here because I have had constant complaints from the People of this Province how they have been drain'd from time to time of their Bills of credit from the currency they have had in the Mass^a^.[3]

V

Acts of the Privy Council[4]

1736. 17 March. III. *pp.* 506–7. [444.] Massachusetts Bay. *Act to exclude New Hampshire paper Notes.* B. of T. report against the Act. The notes were issued by an association of private persons,

[1] New Hampshire Provincial Papers, iv. 688.

[2] Printed "or," evidently an error.

[3] New Hampshire Provincial Papers, iv. 697.

[4] Acts of the Privy Council, Colonial, vi. 238–239. This volume has for a subtitle "The Unbound Papers."

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bore interest at 1. *per cent.*, were payable at the expiry of 12 years, and were not enforced as legal tender.

31 May. ———. Petition of F. Wilks agent for Massachusetts, to be heard in support of the Act.

10 July. ———. 'List of the persons concerned in issuing the notes, laid before the Committee by Mr. Tomlinson, the agent: 18 named, — four members of the Council, the Speaker and five members of the Assembly, another esquire, four merchants, three gentlemen; "besides a great number of gentlemen and others of the best fortunes of the province."

VI

REPORT OF BOARD OF TRADE TO THE RIGHT HONBLE. THE LORDS OF THE COMMITTEE OF HIS MAJESTY'S MOST HONBLE. PRIVY COUNCIL

MY LORDS,

We have considered an Act passed in His Majesty's Province of the Massachusets Bay in April 1735, referred to us by Your Lordships on the 27th Day of October last, entituled "An Act to prevent the Currency "of Certain Bills or Notes of Hand, emitted by a Society or Number of "Persons in the Province of New Hampshire."

We have been attended upon this Occasion by the Agents of the Provinces for the Massachusets Bay and New Hampshire, together with several Merchants concerned in the Trade of those Countries, and having heard what could be alledged on either side for the Confirmation or Disallowance of the Act in Question, We take leave to represent to your Lordships;

That in the Province of New Hampshire there is very little Mony, and but a small paper Currency circulated by the Authority of the Legislature.

To supply the want of other Mony, a Set of private Men, who according to our Information, are persons of the best Estates and Rank in New Hampshire have entered into an Association for issuing promissary Notes or bills bearing an Interest of One P Cent P Annum, which Notes no Man is obliged to accept in Payment, having in themselves no Currency in Law, but are left to stand or fall according to the Credit of the Signers, and may be taken or refused at pleasure.

It would therefore in our Opinion be a great Hardship to set a Publick Mark of Discredit upon the Persons engaged in this Undertaking, as well as a Disservice to the Province of New Hampshire, to prohibit by a Law the Circulation of these Bills, which may be of Service to the

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said Province; for which Reasons We would humbly propose to your Lordships, that this Act should be laid before His Majesty for His Disallowance.

We are,
My Lords,
Your Lordps. most Obedient and
most humble Servts.

FITZ-WALTER
T. PELHAM
OBLO. BRIDGEMAN
EDW. ASHE
R. PLUMER.[1]

WHITEHALL,
March 17th. 1735/6.

VII

PETITION OF FRANCIS WILKS
TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE LORDS OF THE COMMITTEE OF HIS MATIES MOST HONBLE. PRIVY COUNCILL

The Humble Petition of Francis Wilks Esqr. Agent for His Majestys Province of the Massachusets Bay in New England.

SHEWETH

That severall private persons in his Majestys Province of New Hampshire have taken upon themselves to Enter into an Association for issuing promissary Notes or Bills bearing an interest of £1 p cent p ann and not payable till after the Expiration of 12 years and having Issued a great number of these Bills & having attempted to introduce the same into a Currency in His Majestys said Province of the Massachusets Bay, The Legislature of that Province thought it incumbent upon them to do all in their power to prevent the said Bills from gaining any Credit in the said Province thereby as far as in them lay to protect & preserve the Inhabitants of the Massachusets Bay from the many ill & pernicious Consequences that must unavoidably attend their taking the said Bills in payment should they be unwarily drawn in to accept the same & for that purpose the Legislature of the said Province in the Massachusets Bay in Aprill 1735 passed an Act Entituled "An Act to prevent the Currency of certain Bills or Notes of Hand emitted by a Society or number of persons in the Province of New Hampshire, By which Act the Currency of the said Bills or Notes is prohibited in the said Province of the Massachusets Bay

[1] Printed from a copy obtained from the Clerk of the Privy Council. Cf. 375, above.

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That the said Act having been under the Consideration of the Right Honourable the Lords Commrs. of Trade & Plantations, Their Lordships were attended by Your Petr. as well as by the Agent for New Hampshire & were also attended thereon by severall Merchants of the City of London Trading to & interested in the said Province of the Massachusets Bay who acquainted their Lordships with the many Objections that lay against the said Bills from the nature of the Bills themselves & how destructive the suffering them to gain a Currency in the Massachusets Province would be to the whole Trade of that Colony & That it would very prejudicially affect the British Merchants Trading to those parts

That the Lords Commissioners for Trade & Plantations have been pleased to Report it as their Opinion That the sd. Act should be laid before His Majesty for His disallowance, which Report together with the said Act is now depending by His Majesties Order in Council before Your Lordships.

That Your Petr. humbly hopes Your Lordships will indulge him to be heard by Councill in support of the said Act & That for the reasons which will then be laid before Your Lordships You will see cause to Report the said Act as proper to receive the Royal Approbation, & to that End,

YOUR PETITIONER humbly prays Your Lordships, That Your Lordships will be pleased to Appoint a short day to take the said Act into Your Consideration, & That Your Petr. for & on behalfe of the said Province of the Massachusets Bay may be heard by his Council in support of the same.

And your Petr. shall ever Pray &c.

FRA WILKS[1]

VIII

NAMES OF PERSONS INTERESTED IN THE NEW HAMPSHIRE NOTES[2]

George Gaffrey[3]
Theodore Atkinson
Joshua Perrie[4] Senr.
Henry Sherburn
} Esqrs. of his Majtys. Council.

[1] Printed from a copy obtained from the Clerk of the Privy Council.
[2] Printed from a copy obtained from the Clerk of the Privy Council.
[3] Jaffrey.
[4] Peirce.

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John Prindge [1]	Esqrs. of the Generall Assembly.
James Clarkson	
Samuel Smith	
Joshua Perrie [2] Junr.	
Thomas Packer	
Andrew Wigans [3] Esqr.	Speaker of the Generall Assembly.
Richard Wilbert [4] Esqr.	
Daniel Warner	Merchants.
Hunking Wentworth	
Thomas Wibert	
Nathaniel Mendum	
John Downing	Gentlemen.
Samuel Smith	
George Wallker	

Besides a Great Number of Gentlemen and Others of the Best fortunes of the Province.

IX

ACTS OF THE PRIVY COUNCIL

1736. 3 June. Massachusetts Bay. [380.] [On the petition of Francis Wilks, the agent for Massachusetts Bay, the Committee agree to hear him on 9 July in support of an Act of April, 1735, to prevent the currency of certain bills or notes of hand emitted by a society or number of persons in the province of New Hampshire.]

7 July. [Letter to Alured Popple, Secretary to the Board of Trade, for their Lordships to attend the Committee on 10 July when the Act is to be considered and Mr. Wilks heard.]

10 July. [The Committee, on considering the report of the Board of Trade for disallowing the Act, and Counsel for Mr. Wilks in its support,] and being informed that Bills of Credit to a great Value have been issued in the Several Provinces which formerly were a part of and called New England Vizt. Massachusetts Bay, New Hampshire Rhode Island and Connecticut Do think it proper to

[1] Rindge.
[2] Peirce.
[3] Wiggan or Wiggins.
[4] Wibird.

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Order that the said Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations Do Consider of and lay before this Committee a State of the Paper Currency in those Provinces.[1]

X

MISCELLANEOUS REFERENCES

A

BELCHER'S LETTER, NOVEMBER 14, 1734

As to the Hemp Bank, they are all wild, and it will be a bank of wind.[2]

B

NEW HAMPSHIRE NOTES — 1735 — THOSE WHO AGREED NOT TO RECEIVE THEM[3]

C

A LETTER TO THE MERCHANT IN LONDON, TO WHOM IS DIRECTED, ETC., 1741

I have the Authority of his most Sacred Majesty and His most Honourable Privy Council, on my Side, in the Case of the *New-Hampshire* private Notes. This Government, at the perswasion of the Merchants, who are now against all Currencys but that of their own, and that not to circulate, having passed a Law against those Notes passing here, that Law came under Consideration at Home, when His Majesty in Council in Consideration that all His Subjects were free to Propose, Receive, or Reject each others Credit at Pleasure, Abrogated that Law, and pronounced it Null and Void.[4]

D

THE FACE OF THE NOTE

The following is a copy of one of the Notes emitted by the Portsmouth Merchants:

Province
of N. Hampshire

10^s N° (1727) 10^s

We Promise Jointly and severally to pay to Hunking Wentworth of Portsm° Merch^t or Order the sum of Ten Shillings on the 25th day Dec: which will be in

[1] Acts of the Privy Council, Colonial, 1720–1745, iii. 506–507.

[2] Belcher Papers, ii. 159.

[3] New England Historical and Genealogical Register (1903), lvii. 386–389.

[4] Colonial Currency Reprints (Prince Society), iv. 88.

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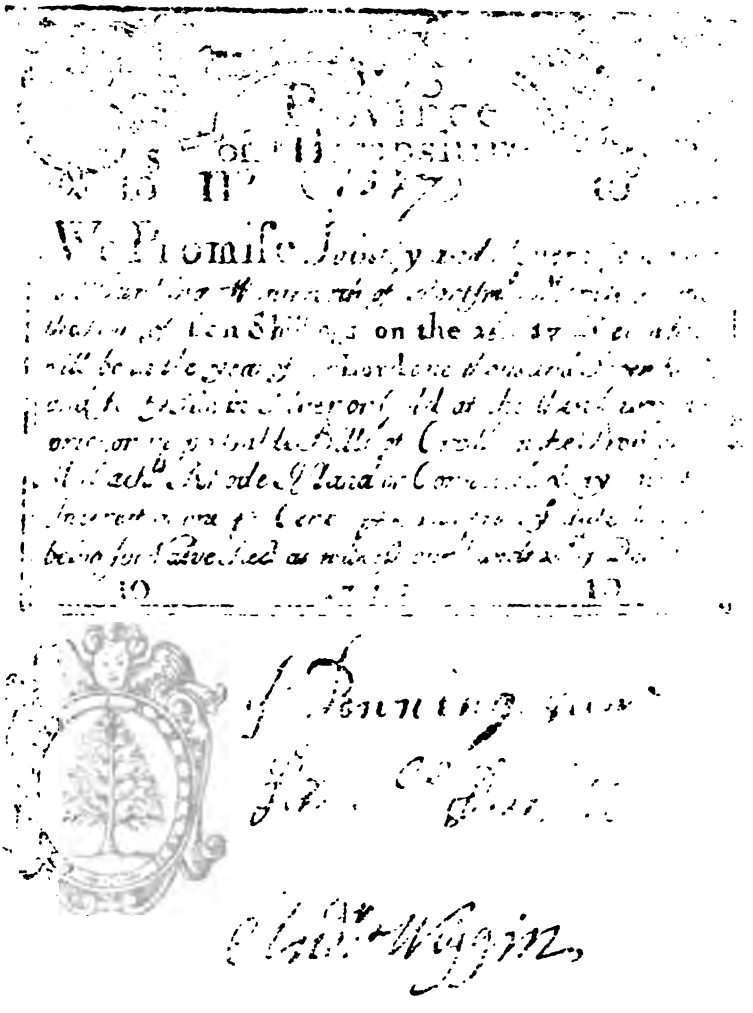

Order that the said Lords Commissioners for T[illegible] Plantations [illegible] and lay before [illegible] a State of the Paper Currency in these Provinces.[1]

X

[illegible] PAPER NOTES

A

[illegible]'s LETTER, NOVEMBER 14, 1734

[illegible] Bank, they are all wild, and it will be a [illegible]

B

NEW HAMPSHIRE NOTES — 1735 — THOSE WHO [illegible] TO RECEIVE THEM[2]

C

A LETTER TO THE MERCHANTS IN LONDON, TO WHOM IS [illegible] [illegible], 1741

I have the Authority of his most Sacred Majesty and [illegible] [illegible] Privy Council, on my Side, in the Case of the New-Hampshire Notes. This Government, at the persuasion of the Mer[illegible] [illegible] against all Currencys but that of their own, and [illegible] to circulate, having passed a Law against those Notes [illegible] Law came under Consideration at Home, when His Majesty [illegible] in Consideration that all His Subjects were free to [illegible] Reject each others Credit at Pleasure, Abrogated that [illegible] nounced it Null and Void.[4]

D

THE FACE OF THE NOTE

The following is a copy of one of the Notes [illegible] the [illegible] Merchants:

Province
of N. Hampshire

10s	No (1727)	10s

We Promise Jointly and severally to pay [illegible] or Order the sum of Ten Shillings on the [illegible]

[1] Acts of the Privy Council, Colonial, 1720–17[illegible]

[2] Belcher Papers, ii. 159.

[3] New England Historical and Genealogical Register (19[illegible]), [illegible]

[4] Colonial Currency Reprints (Prince Society), iv. 88.

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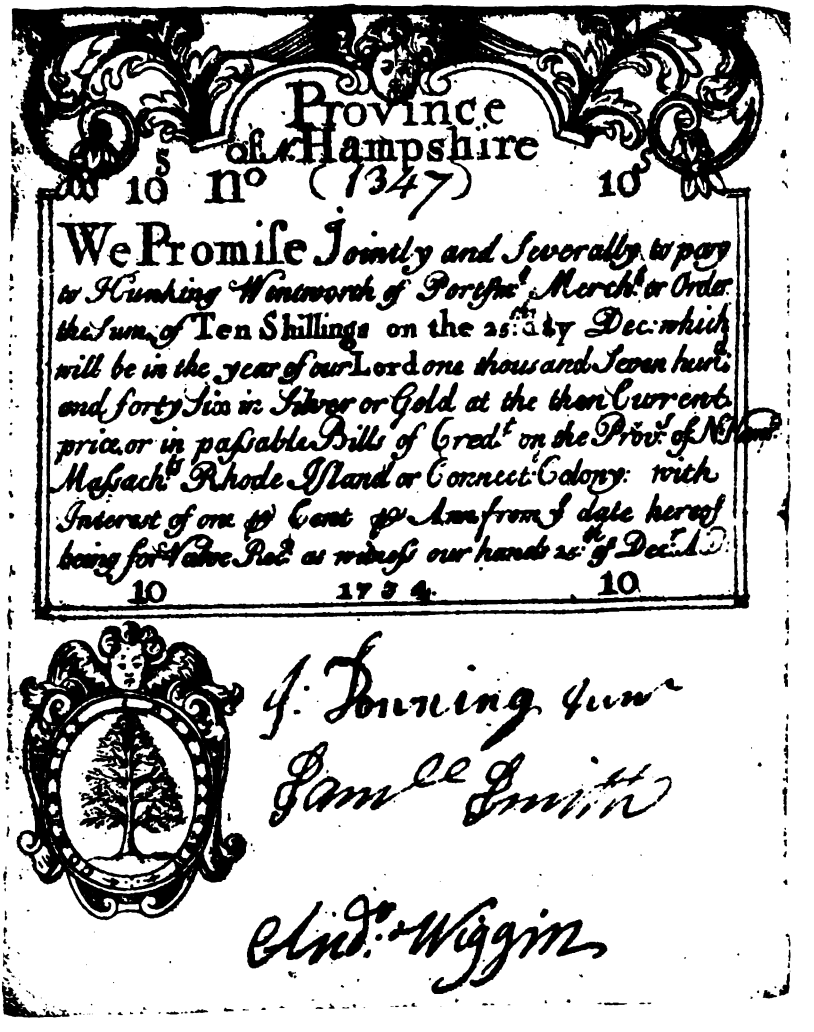

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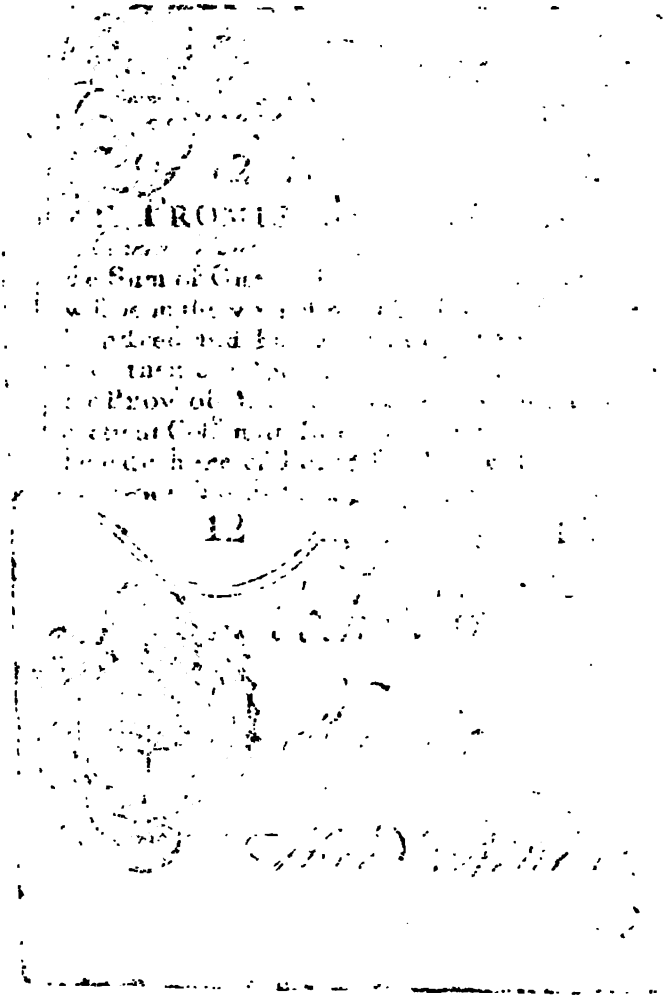

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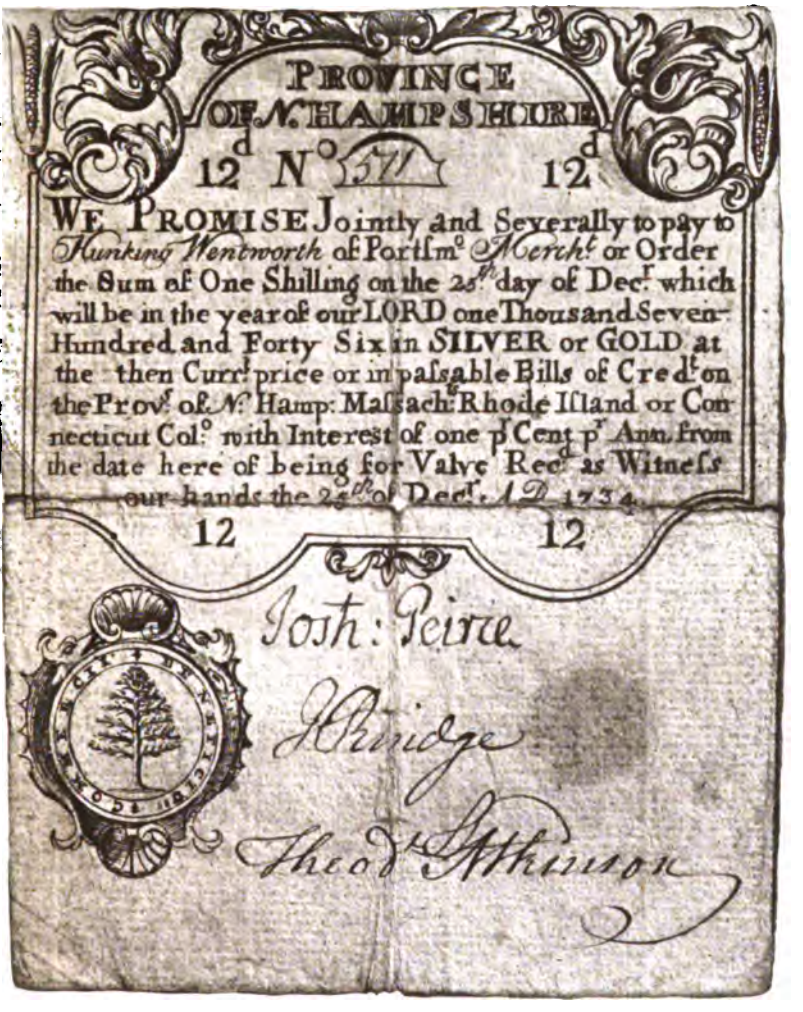
PROVINCE
OF N. HAMPSHIRE

12 d N° 57 12 d

WE PROMISE Jointly and Severally to pay to Hunking Wentworth of Portsm° Merch^t or Order the Sum of One Shilling on the 25th day of Decr which will be in the year of our LORD one Thousand Seven Hundred and Forty Six in SILVER or GOLD at the then Curr^t price or in passable Bills of Cred^t on the Prov^s of N. Hamp: Massach: Rhode Island or Connecticut Col° with Interest of one p^r Cent p^r Ann. from the date here of being for Valve Rec^d as Witness our hands the 25th of Decr A D 1734

12 12

Josh: Peirce

J Rindge

Theod^r Atkinson

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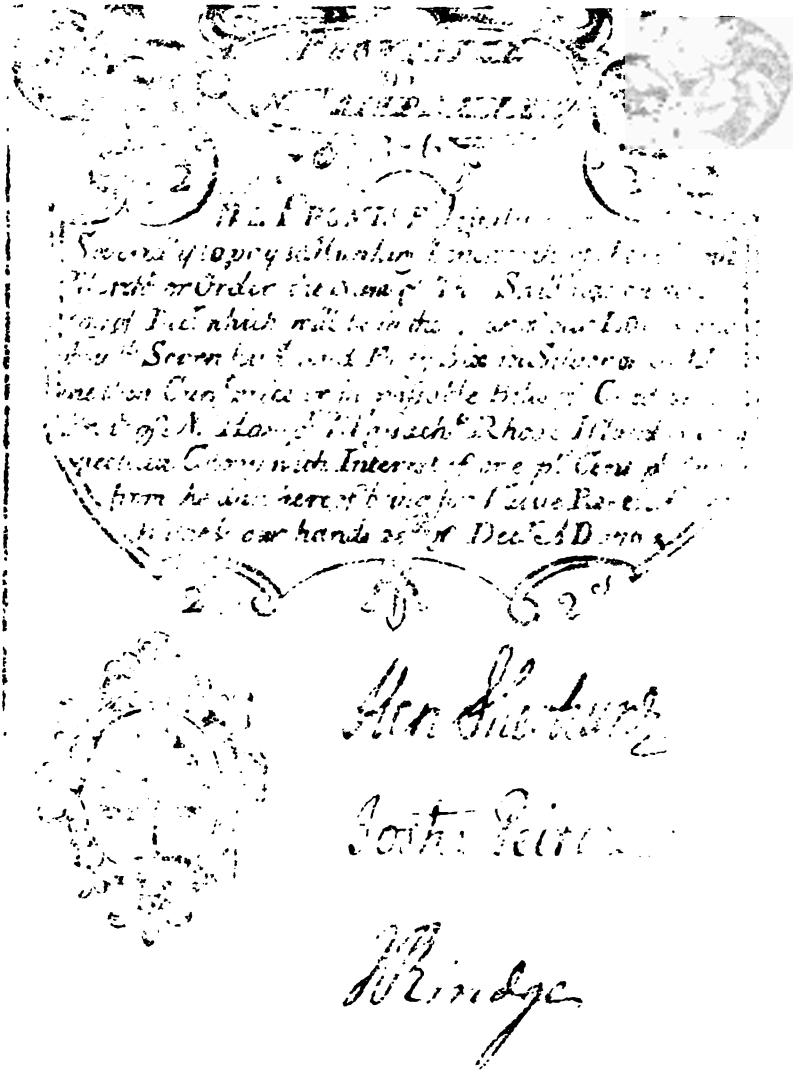

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PROVINCE OF N. HAMPSHIRE

No 386

2s 2s

WE PROMISE Jointly and Severally to pay to Hunking Wentworth of Portsmouth Merch.t or Order the Sum of Two Shillings on the 25.th day of Dec.r which will be in the year of our Lord one thous.d Seven hund.d and Forty Six in Silver or GOLD at the then Curr.t price or in passable Bills of Cred.t on the Prov.ce of N. Hamp.r Massach.o Rhode Island or Connecticut Colony, with Interest of one p.r Cent p.r Ann. from the date hereof being for Value Receiv.d as Witness our hands 25.th of Dec.r AD 1704

2s 2s

Hen Sherburne

Josh: Peirce

J Rindge

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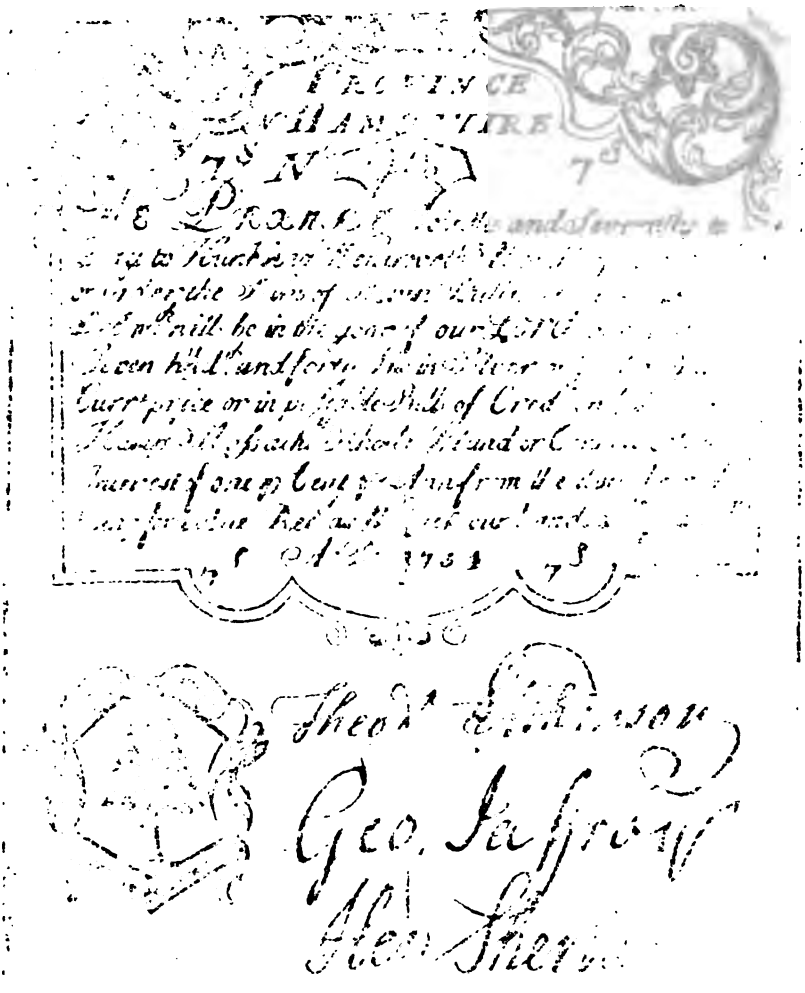

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Reverse of the New Hampshire Notes

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the year of our Lord one thousand seven hun^{d} and forty six in Silver or Gold at the then Current price or in passable Bills of Cred^{t} on the Prov^{e} of N. Hamp^{r} Massach^{ts} Rhode Island or Connect Colony with Interest of one p Cent p Ann. from ye date hereof being for Value Rec^{d} as witness our hands 26th of Decr A. D.

10 1734 10

Saml Smith
And^{r} Wiggin
I Downing Junr

Mr. CHESTER N. GREENOUGH made a communication supplementary to an earlier paper on John Dunton's Letters from New England.[1] He pointed out that Dunton's habit of borrowing from seventeenth-century "characters" is exemplified in the footnotes to his Stinking Fish, or A Foolish Poem Attempted by John the Hermit, published in 1708, where he plagiarizes Hall, Earle, Ford, and Flecknoe. This rare volume, undoubtedly the work of Dunton, has recently been acquired by the Harvard College Library. This new discovery of Dunton's plagiarism emphasizes the necessity of extreme caution in accepting as fact or as original anything attributed to him or claimed by him as his own.

Mr. FARWELL exhibited a manuscript map of Boston Harbor once the property of Admiral Lord Howe, and spoke as follows:

The date of this manuscript map is difficult to determine and I know of no engraved reproduction of it. The title is in a plain oval and reads: "A New Plan of the Harbour of Boston in New England Lat^{e} 42°-24′ North. Long^{e} 71° West. Surveyed by Order of the Commissioners of Her Majesty's Navy. Note The soundings were taken at low water Variation West 10° Observed An° 1700. by Capt Edmond Halley. The spaces inclosed with dotts are mostly mud flatts covered with Eel Grass." Her Majesty's Navy can only refer to Queen Anne, 1702–1714, so it is of interest to compare it with the first engraved map of Boston Harbor that we have, which is in the English Pilot of 1707. The latter has the same title, excepting that it reads "Done by Order of the Principall Officers and

[1] Pp. 213–257, above.

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Commissioners of Her Majesty's Navy." The two maps closely resemble each other and are drawn upon the same scale, but there are many variations, some important, so the two maps do not appear to depend upon one another. The compass, the radiating lines, the shoals, and the sounding figures are practically identical, and an anchor is shown at the same spot in both, being the only one shown on either.

The principal variations are as follows:

MANUSCRIPT	PILOT OF 1707[1]
Charles River	Cambridge Creek
Stony Brook	Not shown
Not Marked	Roxbury Neck
Brantree River	Quinzies Creek
German-town[2]	Not marked
Smelt River	River to Brantry & Weymouth
Way River[3]	Not marked
No mark, houses and church shown	Hull (with houses)
Beacon shown on Point Alderton	Not shown
Light House (1715) shown and marked	Beacon Island
Castle William	Castle Isle
Boston & Charlestown have plans only	Houses shown in elevation
Chelsea (1738) in wrong position, north of Hog Island	Not shown
Houses and church on Pulling Point	Not shown[4]

Generally throughout the two, ground plans of buildings, excepting churches, are shown on the MS and elevations on the engraved map.

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[1] The map in the English Pilot of 1767, Dublin, B. Grierson, is practically a duplicate of the 1707 map, excepting that the Survey was by order of the Commissioners of His Majesty's Navy.

[2] The name Germantown first occurs about 1750. In that year a company leased Shed's Neck, which was surveyed and laid out into lots; and a plan was recorded in the company's books, in which it is said that "this tract of land is intended for a town, to be called Germantown" (W. S. Pattee's History of Old Braintree and Quincy, p. 474). An indenture dated August 27, 1752, speaks of "a certain tract of land on Shed's Neck, now called Germantown" (p. 475 note).

[3] Now called Weir River.

[4] That is, the houses and church are not shown on the Pilot map, though the name Pulling Point occurs. The name of Pulling Point was changed to Point Shirley on September 8, 1753, as appears from the following extract taken from the Boston Gazette of Tuesday, September 11, 1753:

On Saturday last His Excellency the Governour did the Proprietors of *Pullin-Point* the Honour of dining with them at the said Point, where a very elegant Entertainment was prepar'd for him; . . . The Proprietors, after taking Leave from His Excellency, gave it the Name of *Point-Shirley* (p. 3/2).

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from the original
John Wheeler

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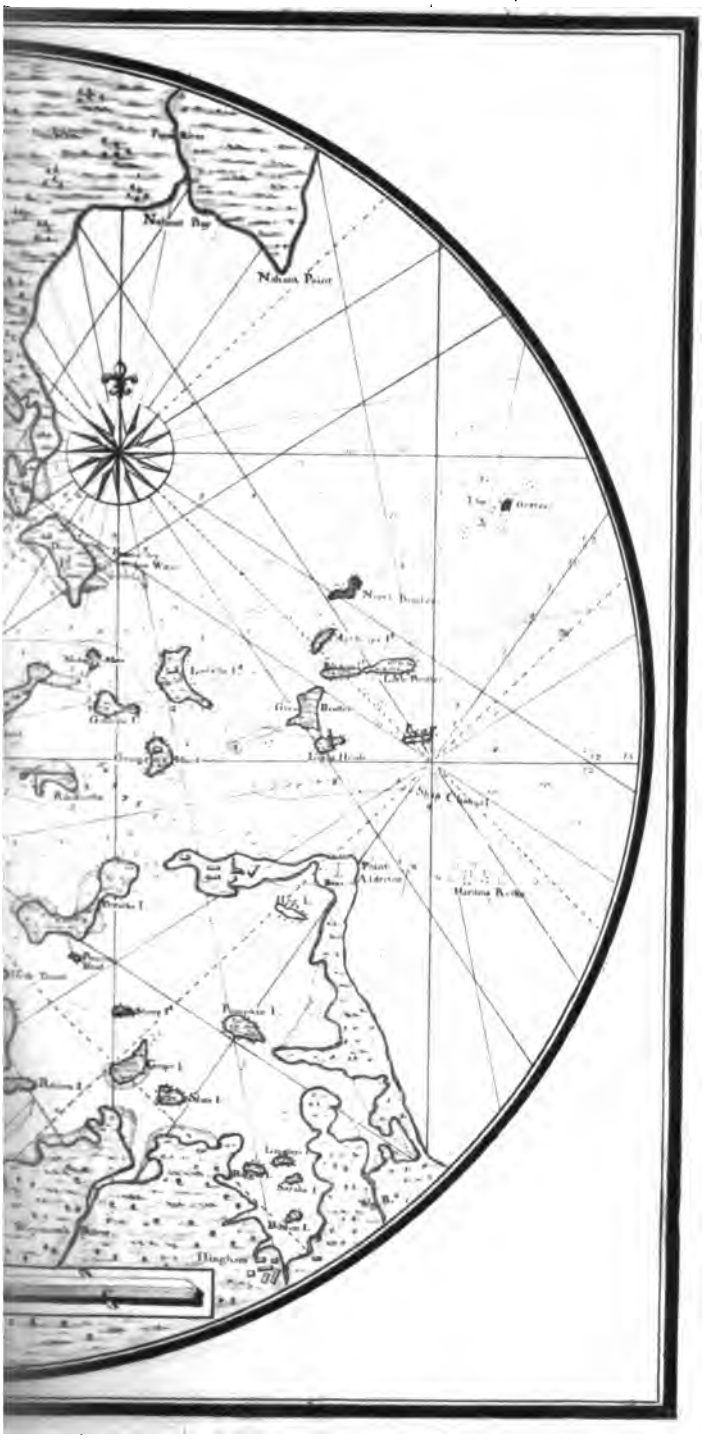

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The arrangement of buildings in Boston and Charlestown, on the Pilot map, are quite different from the plans on the manuscript. Long Wharf is shown on the MS but not on the Pilot map, "the out wharf" being shown instead. "Chelsea" and "German-town" may have been added after the map was made, but it is hardly probable, although the lettering is slightly different.

This was one of many maps and charts which formerly belonged to Admiral, Lord Howe, who commanded the British fleet on this coast, during the Revolution. They were kept in an oak chest, presented to Lord Howe by the British Nation, and came, through his connection with the Sligo family, into the possession of the Dowager Marchioness of Sligo, who presented the chest and maps to the present Lord Howe, who returned the maps. They were then sent, for sale, to Mr. Basil H. Soulsby, Superintendent of the Map Department of the British Museum. From him they were purchased by Henry Stevens, Son, & Stiles, from whom I purchased the American maps. They were all numbered and indorsed by Admiral Howe, this one being marked: "244 Halley's Boston Harbour."

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FEBRUARY MEETING, 1913

A STATED MEETING of the Society was held at the house of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, No. 28 Newbury Street, Boston, on Thursday, 27 February, 1913, at three o'clock in the afternoon, the President, HENRY LEFAVOUR, LL.D., in the chair.

The Records of the last Stated Meeting were read and approved.

The PRESIDENT announced the death, on the 24th instant, of HENRY LELAND CHAPMAN, a Corresponding Member.

The CORRESPONDING SECRETARY reported that letters had been received from Messrs. SAMUEL CHESTER CLOUGH, ALLAN FORBES, GEORGE EMERY LITTLEFIELD, EDGAR HUIDEKOPER WELLS, and Dr. CHARLES LEMUEL NICHOLS, accepting Resident Membership.

The Hon. CHARLES GRENFILL WASHBURN of Worcester was elected a Resident Member.

Mr. GEORGE LYMAN KITTREDGE exhibited a receipt for a United States loan certificate signed by the famous Lord Timothy Dexter of Newburyport, remarking that Dexter (as he himself tells us) made a fortune by investing in such securities, and that the Dexter saga — as one might well call it — owes something to the old story of Dick Whittington.

The Rev. THOMAS F. WATERS spoke of the stern, repressive legislation against the Quakers which had been established in Massachusetts before July 16, 1658, and read a letter written on that day by five Quakers "from ye house of bondage" in Boston to the magistrates of Salem.[1]

[1] The letter is printed in Records and Files of the Quarterly Courts of Essex County, ii. 110.

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Mr. ALBERT MATTHEWS made the following communication:

ACCEPTANCE OF THE EXPLANATORY CHARTER 1725–1726

Little attention has apparently been paid to the proceedings that occurred in the Massachusetts Legislature when the Explanatory Charter reached Boston late in 1725. It is true that the proceedings which took place in the House of Representatives were printed in the House Journal, and, in part, in the newspapers of the day; but copies of both the House Journal and the newspapers are rare, and hence it may be well to bring the data together in one place.

Burges,[1] who had been commissioned Governor in March, 1715, never came over and resigned in April, 1716, when Shute was appointed. The latter took office in October, and, though his coming was hailed with delight, immediately got into a controversy with the House of Representatives over that bone of contention, a fixed salary for the Governor, and also over the choice of a Speaker of the House and the power of the House to adjourn itself. "If Col. Burgess," wrote Jeremiah Dummer in 1720 — apparently alluding to the opposition that any governor would necessarily meet with in Massachusetts, but of course also with special reference to Shute's difficulties — "If Col. Burgess had well considered what he did, when he put in an appearance for the province, 'tis probable he would not have done it."[2] One cannot help wondering what success a fire-eater like Colonel Burges would have had, and whether Shute, could he have foreseen the outcome, also "would not have done it." But such speculation is futile. An impasse was finally reached, and, having obtained leave of absence, Shute, without previous warning, suddenly embarked on board the Sea Horse late in December, 1722, and sailed in the Ann on January 1, 1723.

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[1] For a sketch of Burges, see pp. 360–372, above. From a book which reached this country after that sketch was written, it appears that Burges was commissioned Lieut.-Colonel in Lieut.-General Francis Palmes's Regiment of Dragoons on February 16, 1716, and that the regiment disbanded in June, 1717 (C. Dalton, George the First's Army, 1714–1727, ii. 129). We also learn that between March, 1722, and December, 1723, Burges received £ 365 "from H.M. Bounty, without deduction for his long and faithful Services" (ii. 429).

[2] See p. 367 note 4, above.

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Arrived in England, Shute submitted (August 23) a memorial to the King and made complaints against the Massachusetts Assembly;[1] and in March, 1724, presented a second memorial.[2] These complaints were before the Committee of the Privy Council early in 1725, and on May 29 the report of the Attorney and Solicitor General in regard to them was considered in detail, when "Their Lordships proceeded to hear Counsell, as well for the said Governor as in behalf of the said House of Representatives thereupon,"[3] and rendered the following decision:

Their Lordships having maturely considered what was offered on both sides, Do agree upon the whole matter to report as their opinion to Your Majesty, That Governor Shute hath acted with great Zeal and Fidelity in the maintaining and supporting Your Majestys Prerogative, and that his Conduct in the Matters Stated in the Report of Mr. Attorney and Sollicitor General, deserves Your Majestys Royal Approbation — And their Lordships are further humbly of Opinion, that Governor Shute hath made good, against the House of Representatives, his charge of invading and encroaching upon Your Majestys Prerogative, And that by the Articles aforementioned, it evidently appears, that the said House of Representatives have unlawfully assumed to themselves Powers which do not belong to them, And in an unwarrantable manner encroached upon Your Majestys undoubted authority; And their Lordships do further agree to report to Your Majesty, that the Conduct of the said House of Representatives in the Matters beforementioned tends greatly to Weaken the Subordination and dependance of this Colony upon the Crown of Great Britain, and may be of evil example in other Your Majestys Plantations, and therefore that all proper legal Methods should be taken to assert Your Majestys Royall authority and prosecute all such who have Contemned the same, unless a due obedience be paid to Your Majesty for the future.

As to the Claim made on behalf of the House of Representatives, that Your Majestys Governor hath not Power to put a Negative on the Choice of a Speaker, Their Lordships apprehend that it is of very High and dangerous Consequence to the Government of the said Province And Their Lordships observing that in the Charter Granted by their late Majestys King William and Queen Mary, there is not any express men-

[1] Palfrey, History of New England, iv. 446.

[2] iv. 448.

[3] Acts of the Privy Council, Colonial, iii. 101–102.

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tion made of the Choice of a Speaker to preside in the said House of Representatives, or of Your Majestys right by Your Governor to approve or Disapprove such Choice, by reason whereof the House may possibly have been led into some mistakes touching their said Claim Their Lordships doe therefore humbly propose for preventing any such mistakes for the future, that Your Majesty may be graciously pleased to Grant an Explanatory Charter to the said Province touching the said premisses thereby expressly requiring the Choice of a Speaker to be made by the House of Representatives at their first Assembling, and the Person so Chose to be presented by them to Your Majestys Governor for his Approbation.

And forasmuch as by the said Charter the Power of adjourning as well of Proroguing and Disolving the House of Representatives is vested only in Your Majestys Governor, Yet the said House of Representatives have usually adjourned themselves from day to day which Seems necessary for avoiding great inconveniencys that might otherwise happen — Their Lordships further humbly propose to Your Majesty that in such Explanatory Charter, a Clause may also be inserted, if Your Majesty shall think fitt, giving leave to the said House of Representatives to adjourn themselves from day to day, but not at any time to adjourn themselves longer than for the Space of two days without leave from the Governor.

And that if such Explanatory Charter shall not be accepted, and a just regard Shewed to Your Majestys Royal Prerogative, by the House of Representatives for the future in all the particulars aforesaid, it may be proper for the Consideration of the Legislature [1] what further Provision may be necessary to support and preserve Your Majestys Just authority in this Province and prevent such presumptuous Invasion for the future.[2]

On July 6 there was "Reference to a Committee of the report of the Attorney and Solicitor General with the draft of an explanatory charter;" [3] on July 17 the "Committee recommended that the draft of the explanatory charter be approved;" [3] and on July 20 "Order accordingly." [3] The Explanatory Charter passed the Seals August 26.[4] It reached Boston December 13, and the following proceedings took place in the House on December 14:

[1] That is, Parliament.

[2] Acts of the Privy Council, Colonial, iii. 102–104.

[3] iii. 104.

[4] It is dated "at Westminster the Six and twentieth day of August in the twelfth year of Our Reign" (Publications of this Society, ii. 33). As George I

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A Message from His Honour the Lieut. Governour[1] by Mr. Secretary:[2] Mr. Speaker,[3] His Honour the Lieut. Governour Expects the Attendance of this Honourable House forthwith in the Council Chamber. Mr. Speaker and the House went up accordingly; and His Honour made a Speech, of which Mr. Speaker obtained a Copy; and at the same time His Honour delivered to Mr. Speaker an Explanatory CHARTER, which His Majesty has been graciously pleased to Grant to this Province, a Copy of His Majesty's Order in Council concerning the same; wherein is contained the Report of the Lords of the Committee, with His Majesty's Royal Approbation thereof; and then Mr. Speaker with the House returned to their own Chamber.

His Honour's Speech is as follows.

GENTLEMEN,

YESTERDAY I received from His Grace the Duke of New-Castle, an Explanatory CHARTER, *which His Majesty has been Graciously Pleased to Grant to this Province, which I shall lay before You for Your Acceptance, with which His Grace was Pleas'd to Inclose a Copy of His Majesty's Order in Council concerning the same, wherein is contain'd the Report of the Lords of Committee with His Majesty's Royal Approbation thereof, which I shall now also deliver to You; By all which You will see what His Majesty expects from You: And I hope after a due Consideration thereof you will Act as becomes You, and in all Your future Proceedings demonstrate the utmost Sense of the Duty and Loyalty which you owe to His Sacred Majesty King* GEORGE.

Wm DUMMER.[4]

Read.

The Explanatory CHARTER was Read, together with the several Papers referred to in His Honour's Speech.[5]

On December 17 "The Explanatory CHARTER Read again, and the House entred into a deliberate Consideration and long Debate thereon."[6] On December 18, —

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ascended the throne on August 1, 1714, this was August 26, 1725; but by a singular error the Explanatory Charter, as printed in the Massachusetts Province Laws (i. 21), is dated 1726 instead of 1725.

[1] William Dummer. [2] Josiah Willard.

[3] William Dudley.

[4] Dummer's speech of December 14 was printed in the Boston News Letter of December 16, 1725, p. 2/1.

[5] House Journal, p. 74. [6] P. 82.

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UPON a motion made and seconded by many of the Members of the House, that a Day might be appointed for the House to Enter into the Consideration of the Explanatory CHARTER:

Resolved, That this House on Tuesday next Afternoon, will Enter further into the Consideration of His Majesty's ROYAL Explanatory CHARTER.[1]

On December 21 "According to the Order of the Day, the House Entred into the Consideration of the Explanatory CHARTER, and had a long Debate thereon."[2] In the morning of January 6, 1726, —

A Message from the Honourable Board by *Benjamin Lynde* Esq; that the Board had Concur'd the Vote of the House for a Conference, and desire it might be attended at Four of the Clock Afternoon.[3]

And in the afternoon of the same day —

A message from the Honourable Board by *Benjamin Lynde* Esq; That the Board were ready to Enter into the Conference agreed to be had between the two Houses, and the Board desired the House would bring up with them the Explanatory CHARTER.

Mr. Speaker and the House went up to the Council Chamber with the Explanatory CHARTER with them, which was laid on the Council Board, and the Houses conferred for several Hours, on the great and important Matters agreed on, for the Subject Matter of the Conference, which being over, Mr. Speaker and the House Returned to their own Chamber.[4]

Meanwhile, in the morning of January 5 the House expressed a wish to be adjourned:

IN AS MUCH as matters of very great Consequence to the Welfare and Privileges of His Majesty's Subjects, the Inhabitants of this Province, still remain not acted upon, and the Present Session of the Great and General Court having continued to a more than Ordinary length, and many Members of the Court being Absent: Therefore, *Voted*, That a Message be sent to His Honour the Lieut. Governour, to desire he would please to Adjourn the Court for a Month, or some small space of time, as His Honour shall see cause, and that His Honour would please to Order the strict Attendance of Every Member of the Court to his Duty, for the Reasons aforesaid.[5]

[1] P. 82. [2] P. 87. [3] P. 107.
[4] P. 107. [5] P. 104.

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To this request a reply came the same afternoon:

A Message from His Honour the Lieutenant Governour by Mr. Secretary. *Viz.*

GENTLEMEN of the House of Representatives,

I Have considered your Message for My Adjourning the Court, and Communicated it to the Council, who are of Advice, That no Adjournment should be yet made. I must therefore desire You would Apply Your Selves to the Important Business you refer to, that so it may be brought to a speedy Conclusion, and I may be able to give such an Account of your Proceedings, as will be acceptable to His Majesty, and for the Welfare of the Province. Jan. 5. 1725. Wm. DUMMER.[1]

On January 7 the House —

Voted, That it is the Earnest Desire of this House that His Honour would please to Adjourn or Prorogue this Great and General Court for some short space of time, that so Every Member may then Meet and Attend his Duty, that Matters of the Greatest Consequence and Importance to the Welfare of this Province, may be put to an Happy Issue, which yet Remain under Consideration and not Determined.[2]

And it was ordered, in case the Lieutenant-Governor should accede, "That the Clerk of the House be Directed at the Publick Charge, to Express three Men into the several parts of the Province, Requiring the Strict Attendance of Every Absent Member to his Duty, at the next Meeting of the Court upon the Important Affairs under Consideration."[3]

On the same day, January 7, —

William Tailer, Addington Davenport, Thomas Hutchinson Esqrs; with Mr. Secretary, brought down the following Message, *viz.* In Council, *January* 7th. 1725. A Conference being had Yesterday at the Desire of the Honourable House of Representatives, between the Board and the House upon the Subject Matter of the joynt Address reported by a Committee of both Houses; and the Board hoping that what was offered on their part at the said Conference was Satisfactory, and may prevail on the House to joyn with the Board in their Amendment, do therefore desire the Honourable House would pass upon the Vote of the Board for Accepting the said Report, with the Amendments as taken into the New Draught. Read. *J. Willard* Secr.[4]

[1] P. 106. [2] P. 107. [3] P. 107. [4] P. 108.

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Also on the same day (January 7) "A Message from His Honour the Lieut. Governour by Mr. Secretary, to inquire Whether the House have Ordered their Absent Members to Attend their Duty in case of a short Adjournment. Mr. Speaker informed him the House had taken care about it." [1] Whereupon the Court was adjourned to Friday, January 14, on which day "The Explanatory CHARTER, and the Report of the Lords in Council, with His Majesty's Approbation thereof. Read, and the House Entred into the Consideration of the same and a long Debate was had thereon." [2]

In the morning of January 15, —

The House Entred into the further Consideration of His Majesty's Royal Explanatory CHARTER, and after some debate being had thereon, The House *Resolved*, That the Question should be put to each Member present, who should declare his Acceptance or Non-Acceptance thereof by his saying *Yea* or *Nay*, and Mr. Speaker did accordingly put the Question to each Member present, who severally declared for themselves as appears by the List hereafter following. *Viz.*

Yeas.	Nays.
John Ashley Esq; [3]	Mr. *Benjamin Barker*
Mr. *Thomas Bancroft*	Mr. *Elisha Bishey*
Mr. *Robert Blake*	Mr. *John Blanchard*
Jonas Bond Esq;	Mr. *John Brown*
Ezra Bourn Esq;	Mr. *Thomas Bryant*
John Chandler Esq;	Capt. *Samuel Bullard*
Thomas Church Esq;	Mr. *Samuel Chamberlain*
Mr. *Westwood Cooke*	*William Clark* Esq;
Henry Dwight Esq;	Mr. *Thomas Cushing*
Capt. *Daniel Epes*	Mr *Isaac Cushman*
Capt. *Joseph Estabrooke*	Mr. *Joseph Davis*
Mr. *Joshua Fisher*	Capt. *Edward Goddard*
Capt. *John Foster*	Mr. *Joseph Hale*
Capt. *James Grant*	Mr. *John Hobson*
Mr. *John Howlet*	Mr. *Ezekiel Lewis*
Mr. *Josiah Jones*	Capt. *Thomas Loring*
Mr. *John Kent*	Mr. *Daniel Pierce*

[1] P. 108. [2] P. 109.

[3] For convenience of reference, the names have been rearranged and are here printed in alphabetical order — except the name of the Speaker.

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Yeas.	Nays.
Mr. *Joseph Lemmon*	*John Quincy* Esq;
Timothy Lindall Esq;	Mr. *John Rice*
Mr. *Dependence Littlefield*	Capt. *William Rogers*
Major *Samuel Moodey*	Mr. *John Sanders*
Nathaniel Paine Esq;	Mr. *Jonathan Sargent*
Mr. *Joseph Peck*	Mr. *Edward Shove*
Henry Phillips Esq;	Mr. *Nathaniel Southworth*
Mr. *Ephraim Pierce*	Mr. *William Stone*
Capt. *Isaac Powers*	Mr. *Isaiah Tay*
Mr. *William Pynchon*	Mr. *Samuel Tenney*
Mr. *Jonathan Rayment*	Mr. *John Torrey*
Jonathan Remington Esq;	Mr. *John Wadsworth*
Mr. *Caleb Rice*	Mr. *Richard Ward*
Capt. *Henry Rolfe*	Mr. *Edward White*
Capt. *Nicholas Shapleigh*	Mr. *Joseph Wilder*
Capt. *John Shipley*	32
Mr. *John Snow*	
Mr. *Samuel Sprague*	
Capt. *Jeremiah Stevens*	
Mr. *Samuel Stevens*	
John Stoddard Esq;	
Thomas Terrey Esq;	
Maj. *Thomas Tilestone*	
Mr. *Thomas Turner*	
Eleazer Tyng Esq;	
John Wainwright Esq;	
Capt. *Benjamin Warren*	
Capt. *Thomas Wells*	
Seth Williams Esq;	
Capt. *William Willson*	
The Honourable	
William Dudley Esq; Speaker.	
48 [1]	

[1] House Journal, pp. 109–110. The New England Courant of January 15, 1726, said: "Our General Assembly have this Day accepted the Explanatory Charter, which His Majesty has lately granted to this Province" (p. 2/2). In its issue of January 22, the New England Courant published the passage in the text together with the list of names; but between the words "the List hereafter following, Viz." and the names, the following sentence was inserted (p. 2/1): "[N. B. *The Military Titles, &c. of some of the Members, and Names of the Towns*

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In the afternoon of January 15 the Explanatory Charter was accepted in the following terms:

Whereas His Honour the Lieut. Governour laid before this Court in their Present Session for their Acceptance, an Explanatory CHARTER, *received from His Grace the Duke of* New-castle, *with a Copy of His Majesty's Order in Council concerning the same, wherein His Majesty hath been pleased to confirm the* CHARTER *granted by their late Majesty's King* William *and Queen* Mary, *in which former* CHARTER *there being no Express mention made relating to the Choice of a* Speaker, *and the Houses Power of Adjourning, as to both which Points in the said Explanatory* CHARTER *His Majesty hath been pleased to give particular Direction.* We His Majesty's Loyal and Dutiful Subjects being desirous to Signalize Our Duty and Obedience, which we at all times Owe to His Most Excellent Majesty, have and do hereby Accept of the said Explanatory CHARTER, and shall Act in Conformity thereto for the future, not doubting but that thereby we shall recommend His Majesty's Loyal & Faithful Subjects the Inhabitants of this Province to His further most Gracious Favour & Protection.

Sent up for Concurrence.[1]

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which they represent, omitted in the Votes, are here added.]" In the list of names, that of "Mr. Elisha Bishey" was inadvertently omitted from the Nays in the Courant.

[1] House Journal, p. 111. This was printed in the Boston News Letter of January 20, p. 2; and in the New England Courant of January 22, p. 2/2. The Courant added the following statement: "Four Gentlemen of the Council, vis. Nathanael Byfield Esq; John Clark Esq; Elisha Cook Esq; and Thomas Palmer Esq; voted against the said Charter, and the rest for it." Besides these four, who voted in the negative, there were "Present in Council" (Court Records, xiii. 112; Council Records, viii. 349) on January 15 the following, who must have voted in the affirmative: Meletiah Bourn, John Cushing, Addington Davenport, Jonathan Dowse, Paul Dudley, Symonds Epes, Thomas Fitch, Joseph Hammond, Edward Hutchinson, Thomas Hutchinson, Daniel Oliver, Spencer Phips, Edmund Quincy, William Tailer, Samuel Thaxter, Penn Townsend, John Turner, John Wheelwright, Adam Winthrop. Samuel Browne, Benjamin Lynde, John Otis, and Samuel Sewall were also members of the Council in 1725 (Massachusetts Province Laws, x. 573–574; Whitmore, Massachusetts Civil List, p. 53). Apparrently, therefore, there was a single vacancy in the Council, as by the Province Charter the number of Councillors was fixed at twenty-eight.

In the Council Records (viii. 349–353) for January 15 nothing is said about the Explanatory Charter. But in the Court Records for January 15, after the "Vote for Accepting ye Explanatory Charter," is the following:

In Council, Read & Concur'd: — Consented to, Wm Dummer.

In Council, Ordered that the Secretary do as soon as may be Enroll His Ma-

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On January 17 "An humble Address of both Houses to be sent to the Kings most Excellent Majesty agreed on by the House, and *Voted*, That the same be sent up for Concurrence." [1] That portion of the address which relates to the Explanatory Charter is as follows:

To the Kings Most Excellent Majesty
The humble Address of the Council & Representatives of the Province of the Massachusetts Bay in New England

Most Gracious Sovereign

We your Majesties Loyal and Dutiful subjects the Council and Representatives of Your Province of the Massachusetts Bay, now in General Court Assembled being deeply sensible of the many Advantages, that we, in common with your other subjects do partake of under Your auspicious Government, as also those Valuable Privileges Contained in the Royal Charter Granted to the Inhabitants of this Province by Their late Majestys King William & Queen Mary of Glorious Memory, and which we are now in the Enjoyment of under Your most sacred Majesty, Do therefore Esteem our selves Obliged in Gratitude, as well as Duty, humbly to assure Your Majesty of our Inviolable Loyalty and Affection to your Majesties Person and Government.

We think it our Duty likewise to acquaint Your Majesty, that we have lately received from Their Excellencies the Lords Justices, by the Hands of Your Lieutenant Governour, Your Majesties Explanatory Charter, wherein for the removing of Doubts and Controversies that have lately arisen in this Province, Your Majesty has signified Your Royal Pleasure Relating to the Choice and Approbation of the Speaker of the House of Representatives and their Power of Adjourning themselves, *unto which we humbly submit* [2] and for the future shall Endeavour

jestys Explanatory Charter Granted to this Province in the Book of Commissions from the Crown in his Office (Court Records, xiii. 113).

The record of this meeting in the Court Records is wholly in the hand of Secretary Willard, and the above entry confirms the statement recently made by me that "at one time there was apparently another volume of Crown Commissions, which has likewise disappeared." (See Preface to Vol. ii of our Publications, p. xviii and note 4. When writing that Preface, I had not seen the entry quoted above in the present note.)

[1] House Journal, p. 113.

[2] The words printed in italics are underscored in the original, and in the margin is written "A which We have accepted". Immediately under these words is written, in the hand of Secretary Willard, "A W^{ch} Explanatory Charter We have Humbly Accepted of." The address was voted in the House on January 17; the same day it was read and concurred in Council with the amendment; and the same day it was also read and concurred in the House.

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that the same be duly complied with, hoping thereby to Recommend Your Majesties Most Faithful & Obedient People of this Province to Your Royal Protection and Favour.[1]

In conclusion a few words may be said in regard to the publication in Boston in 1726 of the Explanatory Charter. When Mr. Worthington C. Ford and myself compiled our Bibliography of the Laws of the Massachusetts Bay we stated, of course, that the Explanatory Charter was printed together with the Province Charter in each of the volumes published in 1726, 1742, and 1759;[2] but we did not list a copy of the Explanatory Charter issued by itself in 1726, as at that time neither of us had seen such a copy. Since then, however, two copies have been found — one in the library of the Massachusetts Historical Society, the other in the Boston Public Library. The Explanatory Charter was printed in full in the Boston News Letter of February 3, 1726.[3] In the same paper of January 27 appeared the following advertisement (p. 2/2):

Just Printed the Explanatory CHARTER *granted by His Majesty King* GEORGE, *To the Province of the Massachusetts Bay in New-England. Sold by* D. Henchman.

The copy in the Boston Public Library measures $3\frac{7}{8}$ inches in width by $6\frac{3}{8}$ inches in height. The title and collation follow:

[Ornament] / The / Explanatory Charter / Granted by His Majesty / King George / To the Province of the Massachusetts-Bay / in New-England. / Accepted by the General Court, Jan. 15th / Anno 1725. / [Ornament] / Printed for & Sold by D. Henchman. 1725.

Collation: Title, 1 p; Charter, pp. 2–7; In the House of Representatives, January 15th. 1725, p. 8.

The copy in the library of the Massachusetts Historical Society measures $3\frac{7}{8}$ inches in width by 6 inches in height, and differs in three minor respects from the Boston Public Library copy;[4] but the

[1] Massachusetts Archives, xx. 248–249.

[2] Publications of this Society, iv. 357, 381, 440.

[3] It was not printed in the New England Courant. As the only known copies of the Boston Gazette during the period under discussion are at Madison, Wisconsin, I have been unable to examine that paper. In his American Bibliography (i. 345, No. 2659), Evans enters the Explanatory Charter under 1725 and says: "[*Boston: Printed by B. Green.* 1725.]"

[4] The first difference is that the Massachusetts Historical Society's copy lacks

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two impressions were, I think, unquestionably printed from the same type.

Mr. HENRY H. EDES made the following communication:

At the meeting of the Society in April, 1912, Professor Kittredge communicated Further Notes on Cotton Mather and the Royal Society.[1] In that paper he showed that the suspicion cast upon the validity of Mather's F. R. S. in his lifetime was intimately connected with the inoculation controversy in Boston in 1721 and 1722, and that the headquarters of the Society of Physicians Anti-Inoculators was Hall's Coffee House in King Street, near the Town House, which plays an important part in Mr. Kittredge's interesting story. The precise location of this resort, however, was unknown at the time the paper was read, but it has since been ascertained by one of our recently elected associates, who is so kind as to allow me to announce the discovery to the Society.

The plan before you upon the screen shows that Hall's Coffee House was in a building owned by John Foye at the westerly corner of King (now State) Street and Crooked (later Wilson's) Lane, opposite the Town House (now the Old State House). This estate was conveyed[2] to Foye by John Usher, 31 December, 1711. The lot had a frontage of 43 feet 2 inches on King Street and 68 feet on Crooked Lane, while the northerly end of it abutted 40 feet 2 inches on land of Henry Gibbs's heirs and the westerly side 66 feet on land of Peter Barbour. The building occupied in whole or in part by

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on the first page (which is not numbered in either copy) the line, "Printed for & Sold by D. Henchman. 1725." The second difference is that in the Boston Public Library copy each page number of pp. 2–8 is enclosed within square brackets (as "[2]" "[8]"); while in the Massachusetts Historical Society's copy pages 2, 3, 4, and 5 are enclosed within square brackets, but pages 6, 7, and 8 are enclosed within round brackets. The third difference is that on p. 8 the vote of acceptance of the Explanatory Charter ends in the Massachusetts Historical Society's copy with the words "Sent up for Concurrence" (as is also the case with the House Journal: see p. 397, above); while the copy in the Boston Public Library has in addition the three following lines:

In Council, Read and Concurr'd.
Consented to by His Honour the
Lieutenant Governour.

[1] Pp. 281–292, above.

[2] Suffolk Deeds, xxvi. 90.

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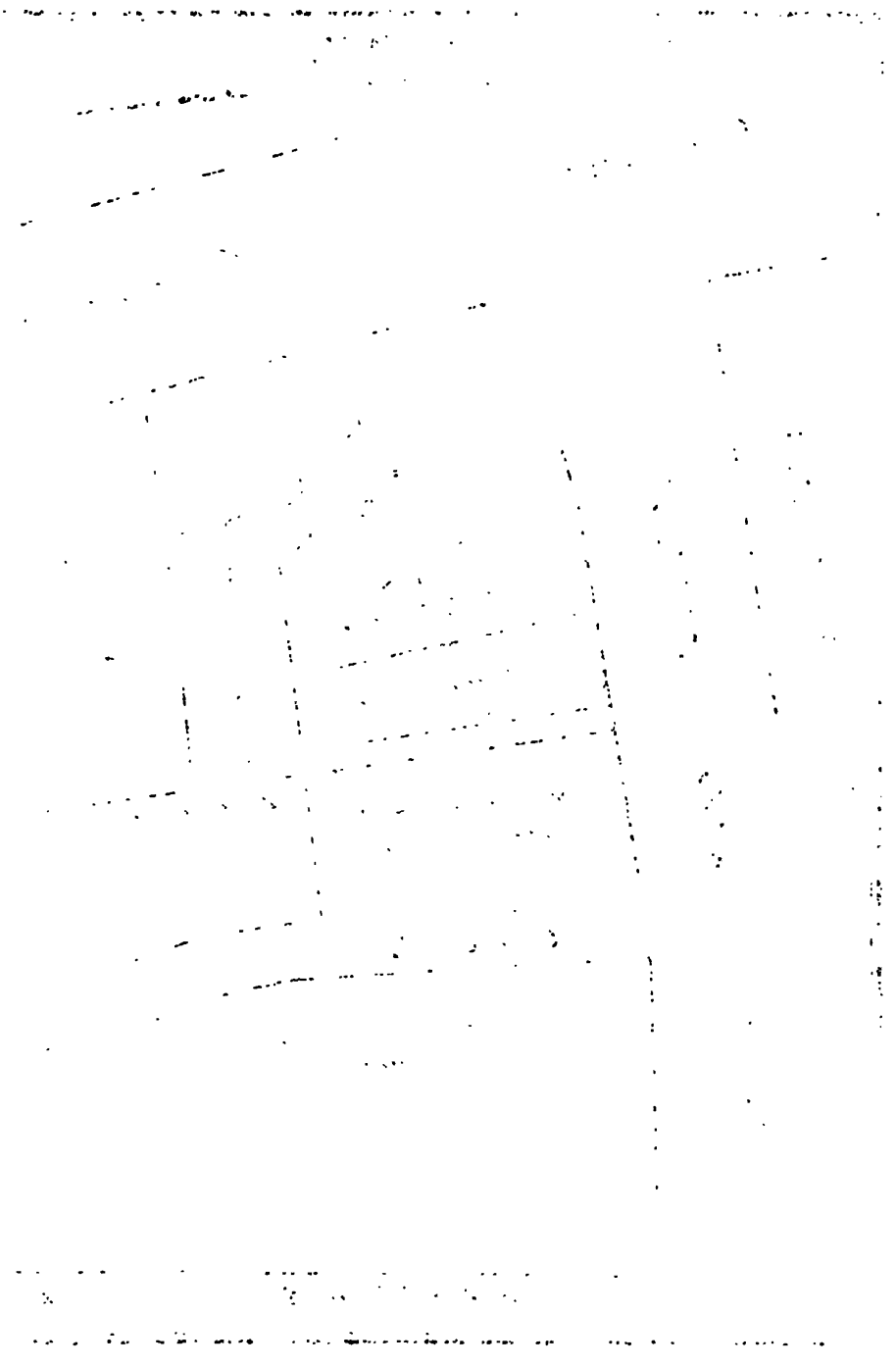

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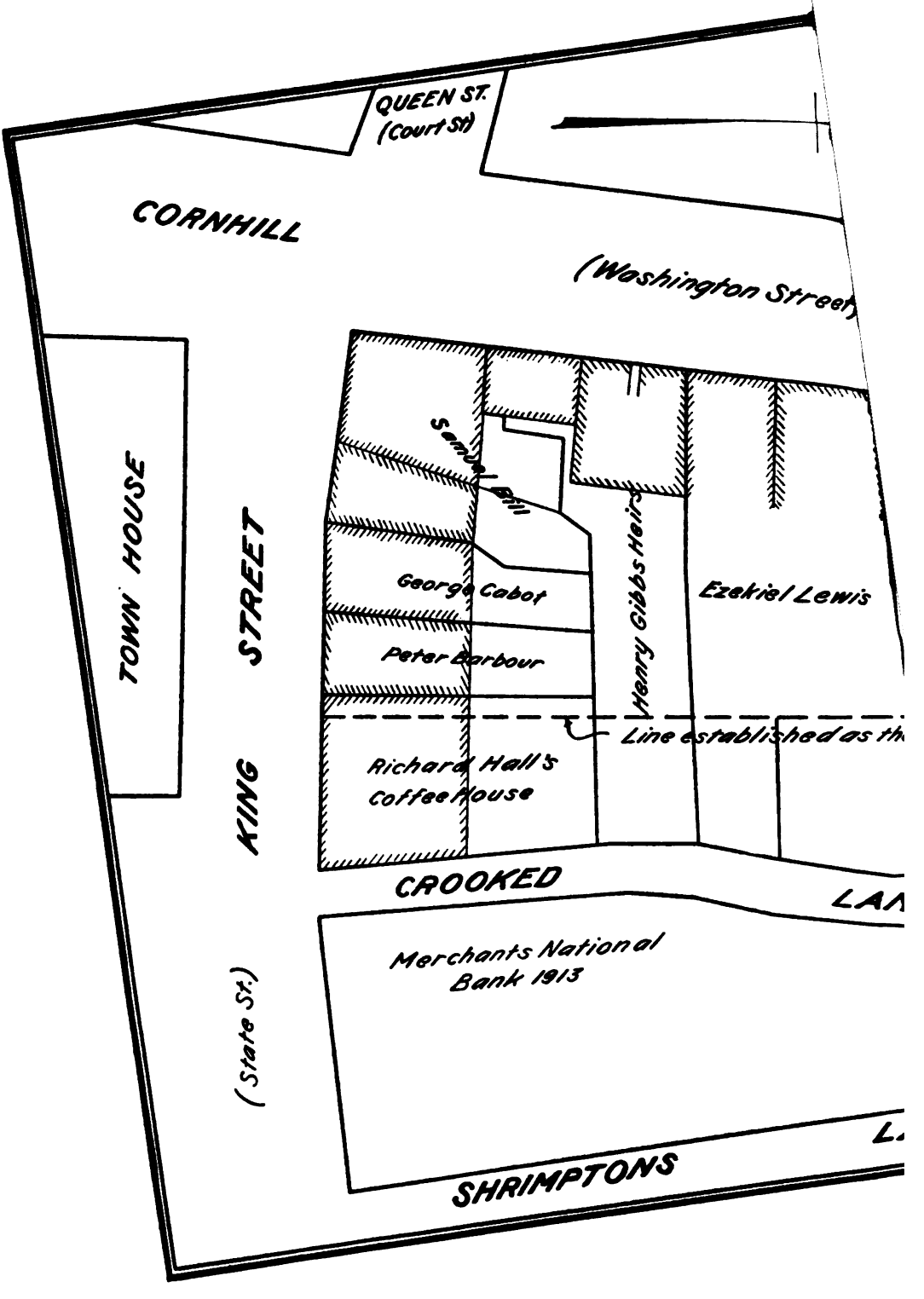

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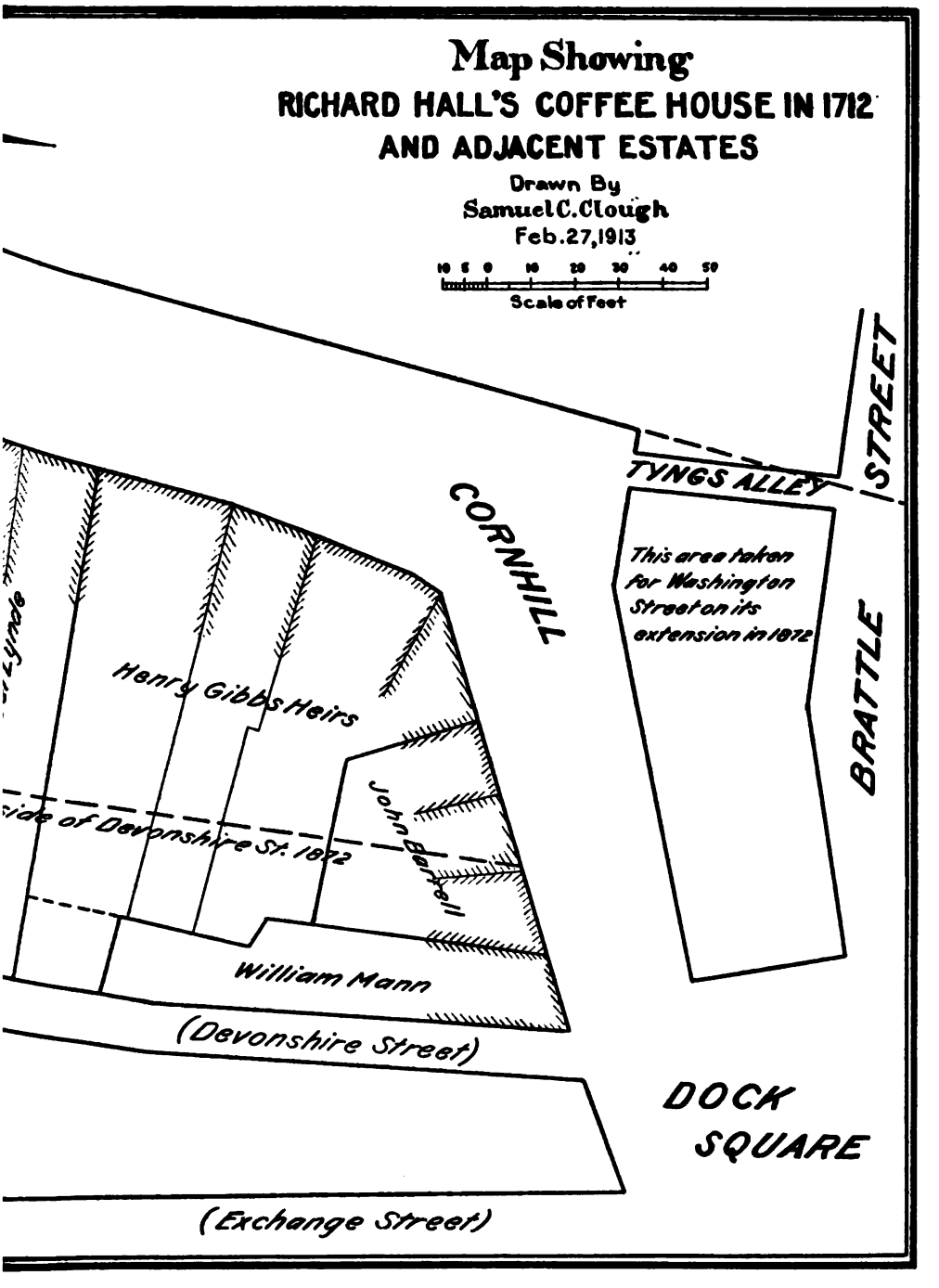

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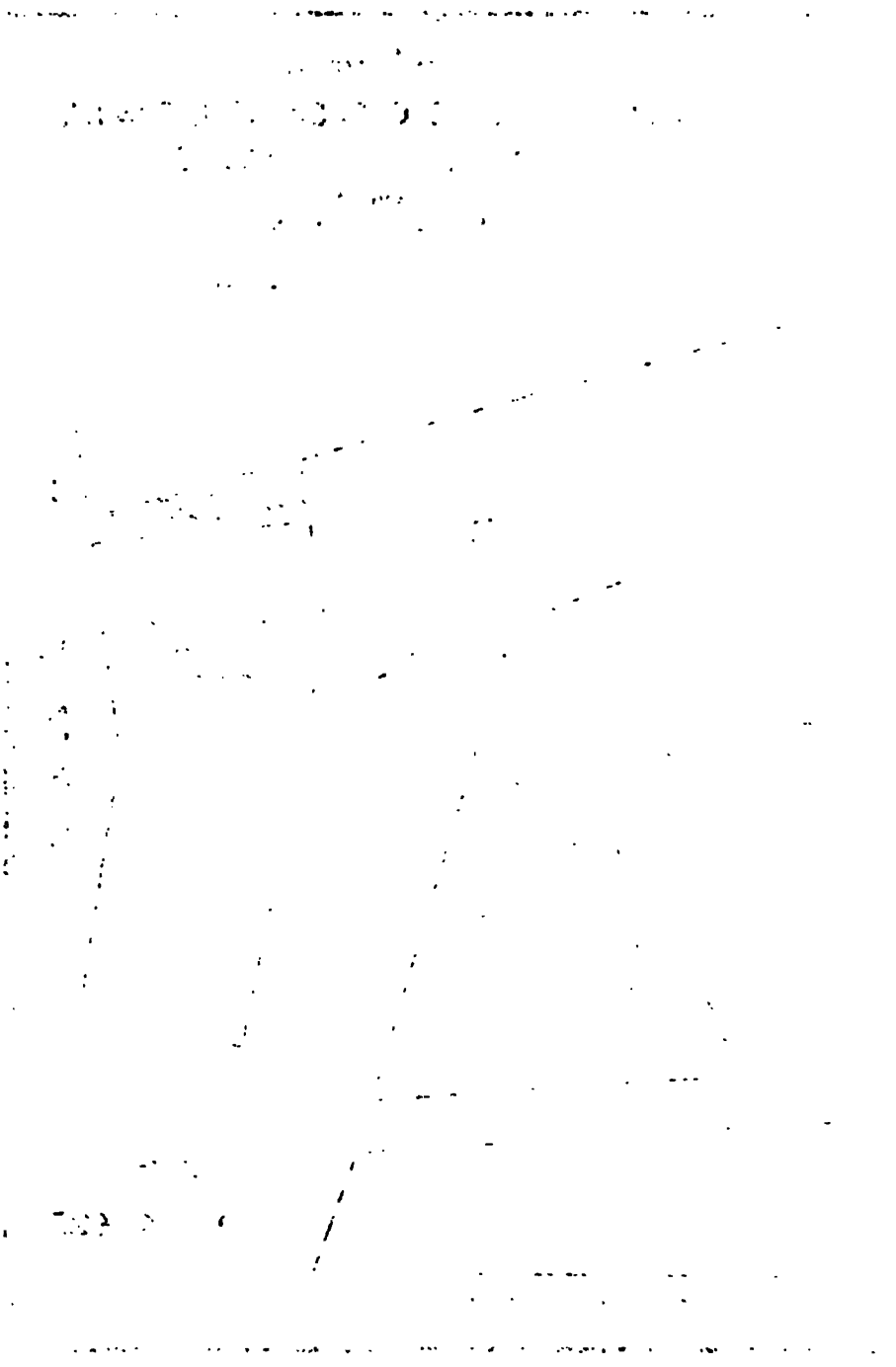

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Hall was doubtless erected by Foye shortly after his purchase of the land, to replace the structure destroyed, with so many others, by the great fire of 1711, which consumed the Town House and many of the public records and archives. It is worthy of note that the Foye lot was a part of the homestead of the Rev. John Wilson;[1] and that when Wilson's Lane was widened, in 1872, and renamed Devonshire Street, the Coffee House lot was nearly all taken and thrown into the roadway, only a strip about six feet wide on State Street remaining in private hands. This strip is to-day covered by the southeasterly corner of the Devonshire Building.

It would be interesting to know something of Richard Hall, his family and his antecedents, and doubtless this desire will some day be gratified. To-day, however, I will not venture to attempt to establish his identity because there were other contemporary Richard Halls in Boston, Roxbury, and Dorchester, some of whom were doubtless of kin to him. There are several entries concerning two or more of these men to be found in the Boston Record Commissioners' Reports and it may be well to assemble them for the use of some future inquirer as to the identity of the man who interests us to-day:

A List of Seuerall psons returned to ye Countie Courts at seuerall times not admitted nor aproued of by ye select men of Boston to be Inhabitants of ye Towne . . . 1674, July 27 . . . Richard Hall, Sayl^r^. (x. 55, 56). ("Sayl^r^" is an error for "Taylr^r^.")

July 27. 1674. . . . Ordered the seuerall psons to followinge to be returned to ye Court. . . . Richard Hall[2] Taylo^r^ at Mathew Grosse[3] (vii. 88).

The Names of such persons who tooke the Oath of Allegiance in Boston: 11th. Novemb^r^ 1678. Adminstred by the Hono^oble^. John Leverett Esqr. Governo^r^. . . . Rich^d^. Hall (xxix. 164, 167).

March 15th. 1709 At a meeting of the Free holders and other Inhabitants of the Town of Boston . . . Messures Richard Hall, . . . are chosen to Serve as Constables for ye year ensueing (viii. 60).

[1] Boston Record Commissioners' Reports, ii. 170. Cf. above, pp. 134, 135.

[2] This man was perhaps the father of Richard Hall the "baker," or of Richard who kept the Coffee House; and he may have been the "Mr. Hall" whose burial the Boston Town Records state occurred on 17 March, 1701.

[3] Matthew Grosse kept the tavern known at different times as the Three Mariners, The Bear, and The Bight. It stood on a lot adjoining the westerly corner of Peirce's Alley (now 'Change Avenue) and Faneuil Hall Square.

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April 11. [1709] The Selectmen do order and Assigne to each of the present constables within this Town the perticuler precinct or Company where each of them are to Officiate in warning for Town meetings &c. No. . . . 5. Rich[d] Hall [1] (xi. 87).

Aprill the 25th [1709.] . . . The Select men haveing advised wth the Justices of the Town of Boston Sitting in Q[r] Sessions ab[t]. visiting the Severall families in the Town, in order to detect and prevent disorders, have agreed to Attend the S[d] Service on Tuesday the 17th of may next, and do propose that the same be Attended in the respective wards as is hereafter named & Set Down. . . . No. 5. . . . Rich[d] Hall consta. (xi. 88).

At a meeting of y[e] Sel. men, Sept[r] 15th. [1712] . . . Liberty is Granted unto M[r]. Rich[d] Hall, to Set his windows for his Barbers Shop Seventeen inches and a halfe into King Street, at y[e] Tenement w[ch] he hires of M[r]. Foy, and So to continue only during pleasure (xi. 173).

At a meeting of y[e] Sel. men, Dec[r]. y[e] 10th. [1713] Whereas there is Lately imported into this Town 320 bush[ll] of wheat now on board a vessell wher of M[r] Stephen Payn is master. The Selm̄. pursuant to y[e] Gov[rs] Proclamation do now ord. and direct the S[d] M[r]. St. Payn to deliver to y[e] Severall Bakers hereafter named y[e] respective quantities thereof as is here Set down ag[t] each of their names they paying for y[e] Same viz[t]. . . . And whereas Nath[ll] Harrise hath imported four hundred bushall of wheat, they do in like maner order and direct him to deliver to.

Mesu[rs]. Joseph Brisco Sen[r] 50 . . . Jos. Brisco Jun[r] 20 . . . Rich[d] Hall 50 . . .

And the S[d] Bakers are likewise directed to bake the Same into bread (and as prudently as they can) therewith to Supply the necessities of the Private familyes of this Town with bread for there money (xi. 197).

At a Meeting of y[e] Sel. men, Jan[ry] 13. [1713–14] . . . the S[d] Master Indego Potter, [was ordered] to deliver out thereof [about 400

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[1] On 8 February, 1715–6, the Selectmen divided the Town into Wards or Precincts. Precinct No. 5 is thus defined:

N° 5 Kings — Ward

Bounded Northerly by the South Side of Wings-Lane [Elm Street] from the uper end there of the South Side of Hannover Street, and the South westerly Side of Cambridge Street, and Southerly by y[e] north side of King [State] and Queen [Court] Streets to the South ward of the writeing School House [in Scollay Square], M[r] Cotton's House the Southermost House (xi. 241. Cf. Publications of this Society, x. 257 note 2).

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bushels of wheat] to each of the Severall Bakers hereafter named the quantity of Thirty Bushells they paying for ye Same. Viz^t^. . . .

Jos. Briscow Senr . . .
Lately Gee . . .
Richd Hall (xi. 198).

Anno 1717. Octob^r^ 7th. Liberty is granted by Willm Welsteed, Habijah Savage Esq^rs^, John Marrion, & John Baker Gent^m^. Sel. men of ye Town of Boston. To Richard Hall, Barber & partners, to digg open the High way thro Wilsons Lane and So into Dock Square for Laying their Cellar drain into the Comon Shore there, Provided they Lay ye S^d^ Drain wth brick or Stone as the Law directs, And also forth wth make good y^t^ part of ye S^d^ way where they Shall So digg (xiii. 27).

At a Meeting of the Sel. men, ye 15th of April. [1718] Mr Richard Halls Petition to Sell Strong drink as an Inholder at a Tenement of Simion Stoddard Esqr in Cornhill [now that part of Washington Street between School Street and Dock Square] is disallowed by ye Sel. men (xiii. 36).[1]

At a meeting of the Sel. men July 6th [1719] The Petitions of Sundry persons for Lycence to Sell Strong drink as Inholders at Large wch w^r^ disallowed by the Sel. men vizt . . . . Richd Hall (xiii. 54).

At a meeting of the Sel. men, ye 15th of July. [1719] The Petition of Sundry persons for Lycence to keep comon victuallin Houses and coffee House allowe by ye Sel. m̄. vizt Richd Hall at his House nigh ye T. House in Kink [King] Street (xiii. 56).

At a meeting of ye Select men the 4th of July. [1720] . . . Sundry persons Petitioning for Lycence to Sell Strong drink as Inholders wr. approved and Recomended by ye Sel. m̄. vizt. . . . Richd Hall in King Street at his house there (xiii. 70).

At A Meeting Octo^r^ the 12th. 1722. Lett to m^r^. Richard Hall that part of the Town house Celler,[2] which was formerly Hired by James Gillcrest, The Said Hall to haue it for One year & to pay nine pounds P^r^. Annum and the Rent to begin the 29th Septr Last (xiii. 104).

Anno 1723. At a meeting of the Select men, July 8th. . . . They Excepted to Richard Hall and Alice Oliver as unfitt to hold and Exer-

[1] It is not improbable that our Richard Hall contemplated moving his establishment from King Street to one of Simeon Stoddard's tenements on the westerly side of Cornhill, near the corner of what is now Williams Court, provided he could get an innholder's licence, failing which he remained in King Street and the next year secured a licence there.

[2] "A Celler under N° Easterly corner of the Town-House" was rented by the Selectmen to James Gelchrist and another 7 September, 1714 (xi. 215, 240). This cellar was directly opposite Hall's Coffee House.

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cise the Imployment of a Tavernor and Retailer by Reason of their not keeping good Rule & order in their Houses (xiii. 115).

At A Meeting of the Members of the Councel, Justices & Select men [29 July, 1723]. . . . Since the Date of the above written Richard Hall of Boston Tavernor having made application to the Select men that he may be further Indulged with a Licence for a tryal of his Behaviour, and promising to Observe the good & wholesom Laws of the Province, and take Espesial care to prevent all Disorders &c. In Consideration where of the Select men are willing that he be Indulged accordingly (xiii. 118).

At a meeting of the Select men July 13th. [1724] The Several Persons named in the List transmitted to the Select men of Boston by the Clerk of the Peace for the County of Suffolk to Sell Strong Drink according to their Licences in the year 1723. The said Select men haue Considered thereof and haue made no Objection to the Renewal of the Said Licences. Saving Richard Hall, Joseph Dodge, and Ralph Wheeler, Innholders, whom they Except against as unfitt to hold Such Employment by Reason of their not keeping good Rule & order in their Houses, and not being Sutably accomodated as the Law directs for that Employment (xiii. 128).

At a Meeting of the Select men, Decemr 28th. [1724] Lett to John Bushell that part of the Town House Celler which was formerly Lett to Mr. Richard Hall (xiii. 133).

At a Meeting of the Freeholders & other Inhabitants of the Town of Boston. . . . adjorned till . . . March the 9th [1724–5] . . .

John Bruster	Sworn
Ebenezer Fisher	Paid
Richard Hall, Baker	Excus'd

Chosen Constables (viii. 185, 186, 187).

At a meeting of the Select men, July 5th. 1728 Sundry Petitioners for Retailes with out Doors. Dissaproved Viz: . . . Richard Hall in maulbro Street [now that part of Washington Street between Summer and School Streets] (xiii. 177).

Passing on to the vital records, we find the marriage of Richard Hall and Eliza Brisco, by the Rev. Ebenezer Pemberton of the Old South Church, 13 October, 1709.[1] This man was the "Baker." His bride was Elizabeth, daughter of Joseph and Rebecca Briscoe, born 24 June, 1691.[2] Their children were Richard, born 9 September,

[1] Boston Record Commissioners' Reports, xxviii. 23.
[2] ix. 195.

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1712; Joseph, born 3 December, 1713;[1] John, born 24 April, 1716; Eliza, born 16 June, 1718 (baptized 22 June following at the Old South); and Joseph again, born 11 July, 1725, and baptized at the New South the same day.[2] Toward the close of his life he owned an estate in School Street, on the southerly side. The lot[3] was about 205 feet west from Marlborough (Washington) Street and had a frontage of 40 feet. It adjoined that of Joseph Maylem, which was contiguous to the lot covered by the French Huguenot Church. He died in Boston 24 February, 1729–30, at the age of 42. His estate was administered[4] 7 April, 1730, by his widow Elizabeth Hall, the inventory amounting to £1074.8.

Another Richard Hall was married by the Rev. Joseph Sewall of the Old South, 21 April, 1720, to Mary Kneeland.[5] He may have been that Richard Hall, "Gentleman," whose will, dated 19 April, 1744, proved 3 July following, mentions sons John, George, Richard, William, and Charles, and daughter Constance Woodhouse, to each of whom he bequeaths five shillings, also son James and daughter Mary Hall.[6]

Still another Richard Hall was married by the Rev. John Webb of the New North Church, 7 November, 1735, to Martha Williston,[7] and was the father of Martha, born 15 July, 1736.[8] He was probably the "baker's" son, above-mentioned, born in 1712.[9]

In the discussion which followed the reading of this paper, Mr. SAMUEL C. CLOUGH said:

The references to Richard Hall in Mr. Edes's paper, drawn from the Boston Records, are the only statements yet discovered which

[1] He may have been the "Richard Hall's child" who was buried 10 September, 1719 (Boston Records).

[2] xxiv. 83, 91, 114, 129, 171.

[3] Suffolk Deeds, xxxix. 294; xlii. 108.

[4] Suffolk Probate Files, No. 5940.

[5] Boston Record Commissioners' Reports, xxviii. 87.

[6] Suffolk Probate Files, No. 8091. For other Richard Hall Probates, see Nos. 1881, 5420, 7401, 15890.

[7] Boston Record Commissioners' Reports, xxviii. 191. [8] xxiv. 226.

[9] The Boston Records also note that "Mr. Hall, mariner" was buried 1 January, 1702; while Bridgman's King's Chapel Epitaphs (p. 166) records the death of Mary Hall, widow of Richard Hall, on 27 August, 1737, in her 72d year. See many references to Richard Hall in Index of Vols. i–l of the New England Historical and Genealogical Register.

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definitely locate Hall's place of business, although this information is indirectly brought out as a result of researches concerning the great fire of 1711.

Such events as conflagrations are to be deplored, and they excite our sympathies for the personal losses of our early townspeople, and our regret that so much original manuscript material of historical value became a prey to the flames. Yet such catastrophes inevitably bring many changes, and the knowledge derived from the records of these changes is invaluable to the student of history, biography, and topography. Fire insurance in the early days was unknown, hence, in many cases, the property owners in a burnt district were nearly if not quite ruined, and compelled either to mortgage their realty in order to rebuild, or to sell their estates outright. The subsequent records therefore furnish important descriptive matter concerning that particular period. Much information can also be gleaned from those records relating to the changes in the street lines.

The fire of 1711 swept both sides of Cornhill (Washington Street) from School Street to Dock Square, and extended in an easterly direction, consuming in its path all buildings to the water's edge, — in fact, very nearly the entire business district of that time. No doubt it caused considerable activity in the Registry of Deeds, since there are many instruments affecting properties in this neighborhood which were recorded shortly after its occurrence.

On December 31, 1711, the estate then forming the upper corner of Crooked Lane (now Devonshire Street) and King (now State) Street, passed from the Usher family to John Foye, merchant, and the description in the deed mentions the "building lately demolished by fire." Prior to the fire the building had three occupants: Peter Barbour, tailor; John Edwards, goldsmith; and William Lackey, also a tailor. These men probably suffered such losses that they did not care to resume their business in the new brick building built by Foye, and therefore gave Richard Hall the opportunity to establish his coffee-house and to become Foye's first tenant.

Peter Barbour, above mentioned, owned the estate next west of Foye, and sold half of it to George Cabot. The lot forming the corner of Cornhill and King Street had just been acquired by Samuel Bill, victualler, from the Jacob Green heirs. For some time previous

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to this date it was known as Robert Gutteridge's Coffee House. This places two hostelries of that character in this short block on the north side of King Street opposite the Town House. On investigation, I find a summary of the frontages making up this block prior to the fire to be 132 feet, 4 inches; and the same line according to Hales' Survey of 1819 to be 132 feet, 1 inch, apparently showing no change in this stretch of King Street, from the time Crooked Lane was cut through the estate of the Rev. John Wilson, in 1651, until it was widened, in 1872, and renamed Devonshire Street.

At the time of reconstruction, in 1712, the northerly end of Cornhill [1] (Washington Street) turned northeasterly into Dock Square. There were then four estates between Samuel Bill's and the northwesterly angle of this block, all of which were bounded west on Cornhill and east on Crooked Lane. The lot next north of Bill's was a double estate owned by the Henry Gibbs heirs; then came another double tenement held by Ezekiel Lewis; then that of Samuel Lynde; and forming the corner was a large estate also owned by the Gibbs heirs. In 1721 a division of this estate was made by which John and Mary Cotton of Watertown got the southerly portion, Robert Gibbs the middle, and Henry Gibbs the most northerly part.

Northeast of this Gibbs property was a three-tenement estate owned by John Barrell. In 1720 he conveyed the two easterly buildings to Shem Drowne, tin-plate worker, who made the grasshopper vane on Faneuil Hall.

The remaining lot in this block (forming the corner of Dock Square and the westerly side of Crooked Lane) was conveyed shortly after the fire by Elizabeth Powning to William Mann.

It may be well to note that during the eighteenth century the area between the north side of King Street and the Town Dock contained many taverns or coffee-houses. Among the best known, besides the two already mentioned, were the Exchange and the British Coffee Houses; and the Admiral Vernon, Crown, Golden Ball, Bear [2] (afterwards called The Bight), and Sun Taverns. Besides

[1] The thoroughfare now known as Cornhill was not laid out till 1816. Washington Street was so named in 1824, embracing the four sections of that thoroughfare formerly known as Cornhill, Marlborough, Newbury, and Orange Streets.

[2] See p. 401 note 3, above.

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those granted to these houses of public entertainment, many licences to sell strong drink were granted to individuals residing in the various lanes and alleys of this section; consequently this neighborhood might appropriately have been designated, at the period we have been considering, as a locality for convivial enjoyment.

Mr. MATTHEWS remarked that he remembered having seen in the New England Courant of March 26, 1722, a letter dated "*Hall's Coffee-House, March* 19;" and that the following advertisement was printed in another Boston paper during the same year:

A *Plate of Thirty Pound value to be Run for from Anatomy House to Cambridge on Thursday the* 13*th of September next, at* 3 *a Clock in the Afternoon, by any Horse, Mare or Gelding, each carrying* 10 *Stone weight, allowing weight for Inches, and not above Six in number, each Horse to be entred with Mr. Richard Hall at his Coffee-House in King-Street Boston Three Weeks before the Race, and pay down Five Pounds entrance Money.*[1]

Mr. EDES read a holograph letter from Washington to Colonel Gilpin, dated 24 January, 1787. This follows:

MOUNT VERNON Jany 24th 1787

DEAR SIR,

As (if I understood you rightly the other day at Lemax's) you are high Sheriff of this County, I shall be obliged to you for the Public acc^{ts} against me for Taxes, Levies, &c that I may make provision, without delay, for payment.

Can you tell me whether the writ against Edward Williams (given to you at the above time & place) has been served?

Mr Brindley & his son-in-law called here about ten days ago on their way to South Carolina, but appeared so anxious to get on that I did not press the former to attend to the Service pointed at in Mr Johnson's letter.

I am — Dear Sir

Y^{r} obed^{t} H^{ble} Servt

G^{o} WASHINGTON

[1] Boston Gazette, July 9, 1722, p. 2/2; August 13, p. 2/2. Apparently there was no further allusion to the race in the Boston newspapers.

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P. S. If you have not the acc[t] ready please to lodge it at the Post Office where I commonly send twice or thrice a week.

[*Addressed*]
Col° Gilpin

[*Filed*]
A Letter From His
Excellency George Washington
January 24th 1787.

Mr. JOHN W. FARWELL spoke as follows:

At our last meeting[1] I exhibited a book containing a sermon by the Rev. Deodat Lawson (printed in Boston by Bartholomew Green in 1693) and the title-page of "The shorter Catechism agreed upon by the Reverend Assembly of Divines at Westminster" which bore the imprint, "Printed for John Usher Anno 1690." After careful search and inquiry no record of such an edition, or any allusion to it, has been found. Since the meeting I have thought that it would be interesting to discover, if possible, who printed it; and in my search I am indebted to our associate Mr. George E. Littlefield for the information found in his Early Massachusetts Press.[2]

After the death of John Foster, September 9, 1681, Samuel Sewall was appointed to take charge of the press, but, not being a printer, he engaged Samuel Green, Jr., to come from New London, Connecticut to attend to the practical details of the business. In 1684 Sewall resigned his position and Green continued to manage the press. In 1687 his brother Bartholomew, then twenty-one, became his assistant and remained so until Samuel's death in July, 1690, after which, probably in the interest of Samuel's family, he conducted the business until September 16, 1690, when the building on Milk Street, opposite the Old South, which contained the press, was nearly destroyed by fire. Bartholomew then took what printing materials were saved and went to Cambridge, becoming a partner with his father, Samuel Green, Sr. The partnership continued until early in 1692, when it was dissolved and Bartholomew opened an office in Boston.

In an inventory of Samuel Green, Jr.'s estate made October 10, 1690, after the fire, are these items:

10 doz: of Psalters at 9s pr Doz	04 10 00
46 Doz: & 4 larger Catechisms at 3s pr Doz:	06 19 00
06 Doz of smaller Ditto at 18d pr Doz:	00 09 00

[1] P. 359, above.

[2] ii. 12, 25, 29, 30, 33, 35, 36.

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The Shorter Catechisms appear to have been unbound, for there is another item — "9 bound Books." From this it would seem that this title must represent one of those copies saved from the fire. Although not mentioned in the inventory — but probably included in "Cash found in ye house," because previously converted into cash — some of Samuel's type was also saved, for the Rev. Thomas Prince has written on the title-page of a book printed in 1693, "Mr. B. Green says This was Prind by his Broth Samuel's Letter, in Boston." I have examined some books printed by John Foster which have a border type, which corresponds with that on this title when very carefully and exactly measured.

From the foregoing I have concluded that this title was printed by Samuel Green, Jr., with, at least, a portion of John Foster's type and on his press, and that it was saved from the fire and later bound in this volume by Bartholomew Green.

Can anyone inform us what has become of the "Psalters" and "larger Catechisms," probably unbound, mentioned in the inventory of Samuel Green, Jr.? I have found no trace of them, but they will probably be found bound with some other tract, as has the one we have considered.

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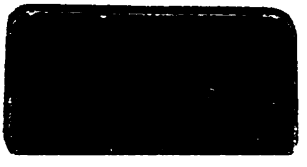

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